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(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1898.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BY common consent the chief place among the great missionary organizations of the world has long been assigned to the Church Missionary Society, the well-known body which represents the evangelical wing of the Church of England. Whether we consider the amount of its income, the elasticity of its finances, its thoroughness of organization, the extent of its operations in foreign lands, its solid success—especially in the dark places of the earth—its methods of selecting and sending out workers, its extraordinary daring in attempting great advances, or the spirit which animates, not only its official leaders, but the whole body of its supporters, it must be conceded that this great Society has fairly won and strongly holds the leading position in the great missionary host of the Protestant world. With an annual revenue of one million seven hundred thousand dollars; with seven hundred and twenty missionaries in the foreign field, exclusive of the wives of missionaries; with a total staff of six thousand six hundred and ninety-three Christian workers, European and native; with two hundred and thirty-three thousand one hundred and ten converts, and thousands of inquirers in many lands; with five great fields marked out and occupied in western, equatorial, and eastern Africa, eight more in India, one in Ceylon, one in Palestine, one in Persia, four in China, one in Japan, one in Mauritius, one in New Zealand, and six in Northwest Canada; with reinforcements going to the front at the rate of over eighty a year; and with seventy approved candidates under training at home, this

Society certainly presents a spectacle worthy, not only of admiration, but of careful inquiry and study on the part of all who are interested in the great missionary enterprise. Work in the field has of late become a subject of serious study, and questions of policy and method are often discussed both at home and abroad with great earnestness; but it is very seldom indeed that any special attention is given to the practical working of missionary societies. These societies have much in common, and yet many striking points of difference may be found among them. May it not be possible that a perfectly frank and free comparison of the ways and means adopted by these societies, and of the general lines of policy pursued by them, would prove profitable in various ways to all concerned? It is well enough to study the missionary problem as it presents itself abroad, but the home connection of the enterprise is vital, and the whole subject should be studied in all its practical bearings, beginning with God's call to the Church and including the latest phases of the work in the foreign field. The following brief sketch of some of the more striking features in the organization and practical work of the Church Missionary Society is offered as a slight contribution to this broader line of missionary discussion.

An impression prevails to some extent, among those interested in missionary matters in the United States, that the Church Missionary Society is distinctively the recognized or official missionary society of the Church of England; but this is a great mistake. The Church of England as such maintains no benevolent societies, and assumes no direct control over such societies, although many such organizations are managed exclusively by members of her communion. The utmost latitude is granted to those who may be so inclined to take up any cause and sustain it by organized or other efforts, as may seem to them best. Accordingly, we find within the Anglican communion no less than twenty-five different foreign missionary societies; and, in addition to these, several of the best known religious societies of England are supported by the joint patronage of members of the Established and Free Churches—such as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, and others. This fact should be borne in mind

in all comparative statements of the income and expenditure of the leading missionary societies of the day. When mention is made in the United States of the large income and elastic resources of the Church Missionary Society it is usually replied, sometimes with a measure of impatience, that the large income is easily accounted for by the fact that the Anglican Church is supported by the State; but it should be remembered that the Free Churches of Great Britain in the aggregate give more missionary money than the two State Churches, and further that, even if the greater ability of the members of the Church of England were granted, this fact would not account for the leading position which the Church Missionary Society maintains in the midst of the large number of kindred societies within the pale of that Church.

Dr. Stevens in his *History of Methodism* maintains that both the Church and London missionary societies were to an important degree the offspring of the great Methodist movement of the last century. It is not always understood in America that the Methodist movement of the last century was by no means confined to the body of Christians who were formally organized by John Wesley, and who have since borne his name. While a large number of those who were associated in that movement were thus organized into a distinct religious body, a great many others remained in communion with the Church of England, so that in the early years of the present century the Methodists of England were found partly in a separate organization and partly within the pale of the Anglican Church. The movement had also powerfully influenced the Nonconformists of that day, and undoubtedly had an important bearing upon the missionary movement in its earliest stages. It was chiefly among good men in the Church of England who were more or less in direct sympathy with the Methodist movement that the Church Missionary Society was founded and assumed its distinctive character as the missionary representative of the evangelical element in the national Church. It need hardly be added that from the beginning the Society found its strongest supporters among the less worldly, as well as less wealthy, classes, and in a large measure this remark holds true to the present day. So far from having the whole power of a

richly endowed State Church behind it, the Church Missionary Society has in the first place to contend with the opposition of a large section of the more extreme ritualists, as well as the indifference, and sometimes hostility, of large numbers of the Broad Church clergy. The more wealthy and fashionable classes rally round the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a society which is a hundred years older than the Church Missionary Society, and which has from the first possessed many advantages to which the younger body could not aspire. Taking a full and frank view of the whole situation, it will hardly be possible to maintain that the exceptional prominence attained by the Society under review is owing to the fact that its supporters have to meet no other call upon their liberality than the one which this Society presents.

If we turn now to examine the organization and working plans of the Society we are somewhat surprised to find that, so far as these can be found in print, the outline is very brief indeed. The code of "laws and regulations," covering barely two pages of the annual report of the Society, gives us in brief about all the information that can be gathered upon this subject. All subscribers who pay at least one guinea, all clergymen who pay half a guinea, and all persons who collect at least fifty-two shillings a year are constituted members of the Society during such time as the subscription or collections continue. The queen has consented to act as patron and the Archbishop of Canterbury as vice patron, while a prominent layman is president of the Society, and all the archbishops and bishops of the English and Irish Churches are asked to act as vice presidents. These offices, however, are chiefly nominal. The actual governing body is "the committee," composed of twenty-four laymen and a large contingent of clergy and others; but these latter seem to be for the most part silent partners in the administration. This committee corresponds in many respects to the "board" in one of the American societies, but its authority is in some things greater than that of our own board. These twenty-four laymen, for instance, elect the secretaries, and the secretaries in turn do nearly all the practical work of administering the affairs of the Society. The secretaries are nineteen in number, of whom five rank as

assistant secretaries. Eight of the number are laymen, three are women, and eight clergymen. Two secretaries are honorary, a term which in America usually means nominal, while in England it means unsalaried. This large secretarial force is thoroughly organized. The work committed to them is divided into six departments, known, respectively, as clerical, lay, woman's, foreign, home, and editorial. The last named is worthy of special notice. Mr. Eugene Stock, well known on both sides of the Atlantic, is at the head with two assistants, one of whom is a lady, and if anyone wishes to see the value of such a staff all that is needed is to take a glance through the intensely interesting pages of the last annual report. If it should occur to anyone that so large a staff of secretaries must prove expensive it is sufficient to remark that the entire cost of this department, including clerks, is only, in round numbers, thirty-four thousand dollars a year, or an average of about two thousand dollars each for the seventeen paid secretaries. As clerks and other helpers must also be paid it is evident that some of the salaries must be very moderate indeed.

In addition to the general secretaries the Society employs twenty-seven "association secretaries," nineteen of whom are salaried and eight honorary. Following these we find a great host of district secretaries, none of whom, however, are salaried. The organization of this Society is not only very extensive, but very complete, covering the whole realm and including associations, districts, counties, and parishes. As far as possible a society of "gleaners" is organized in every parish, while all manner of special aids, such as children's societies and working bands, are not only freely tolerated but cordially welcomed, perhaps on the principle that irregular effort in any and every case is better than cold indifference.

Turning now to the practical workings of the Society, one of the first things which favorably strikes a missionary observer is the fact that the whole organization is, in spirit and in all its operations, thoroughly missionary. Through all the ninety-eight years of its history the object for which the Society was organized has been kept steadily in view. The inspiration which had a few years before sent William Carey into the heathen world as the first herald of a great movement

which had as its object the duty of making Christ known to the nations sitting in darkness was common to all the great societies organized in that era. The words "mission" and "missionary" had a definite meaning, and were never misunderstood. God was manifestly calling his people to a specific and gigantic enterprise in the heathen world, and none of the pioneers of that early day could have anticipated that a time would come when these terms would be applied to home evangelization, much less to revivalists and revival efforts, in Christian lands. In our day it has become quite common to apply these terms to visits made by evangelists in towns and villages for the purpose of holding revival meetings. This, together with the very general practice of applying the same terms to evangelizing efforts made in great cities and neglected frontiers, has done much to confuse the minds of many good people concerning the original call which God gave to his people, and which he has never yet taken back. Whatever other duties may or may not be incumbent upon the Church of Christ, and however supreme may be the obligations of Christians in England and America to the neglected classes around them, the great missionary call and the great missionary enterprise have remained, as they were at the opening of our century, distinct and apart as obligations laid upon the Church of Christ toward the nations which sit in darkness. It is probably owing to the fact that the Church Missionary Society has never for a day lost sight of this conviction, and never swerved from the task to which God called her, that no small measure of her success is to be attributed.

We see many evidences of this fidelity to principle in the work of the Society both in the home land and abroad. We search in vain, for instance, for a single name occupying a position of responsibility which does not belong to a person of pronounced convictions on the missionary question. Glancing over the names of the twenty-four members of the committee, the writer recognized four as belonging to gentlemen well known in India and personally familiar with missionary work. The lieutenant general whose name heads the list was for several years a valued lay preacher who worshiped in our church in Calcutta. Another was also associated with us in Christian

work in the same city, while a third at one time kindly acted as superintendent in one of our native Sunday schools. Turning next to the list of secretaries, we notice the name of one of the ablest Indian missionaries, who was called from the field a few years ago to take a position as secretary in the home office. It is said that every one of the nineteen secretaries was known before appointment to cherish clear and intense convictions upon the great missionary question. We were recently assured by one thoroughly acquainted with the *personnel* of the office that never in a single instance has any other consideration affected the choice of a secretary than the known convictions of the candidate on the missionary question and his fitness for the work. Never in a single instance has a candidate been put forward, either by himself or friends, for the extraordinary reason that he had failed of an election to another post, or the still more extraordinary reason that he regarded the office as one of several steps in the ladder which led to a higher position. The very atmosphere of the mission house in Salisbury Square seems to be permeated with a missionary influence. No secretary ever expects to fill a higher position than that which he now holds, and no other interest enters into the consideration of any of the important questions from time to time arising in the administration.

We have spoken of the brief printed outline given of the organization adopted by the Society, but as a matter of fact no full outline of its practical workings could be put in print. The value of organization is recognized at every point, and, as often happens in Church and State, usage has taken the place of both constitution and written law to such an extent that it has acquired all the weight of recognized authority. Organization, in fact, is recognized, one might almost say, as a principle of action, and little is attempted without it. Nothing is left to the drift of events, and very little confidence is placed in general appeals made publicly to the friends of the Society. When a new expedient is to be tried an organized plan is adopted for putting it before the public. If, for instance, it were proposed to try what could be done by a week of self-denial—that is, by calling upon all friends of the cause to make personal sacrifices in such ways as might be found feas-

ible during a certain week, with a view to giving all the money thus saved to the missionary cause—no one for a moment would think of trusting simply to a public appeal published in the newspapers. Or, if a special effort was to be made to pay a long-standing debt or create a special fund for enlarging the work, or for any other special enterprise, an immediate plan would be devised for putting the matter before the public in the most effective manner possible. Nothing would be left to the chance favor with which the proposal might be received. It is accepted as practically certain that not one individual in a dozen will take part in such a movement unless some one personally calls attention to the subject and solicits the aid needed. Public appeals, however earnestly and intelligently made, are very apt to be delusive. They do not always prove utter failures; yet such is too often their fate, and even when a partial response is received it is seldom such as is worthy of the appeal. In nearly all such cases success will be found to depend upon organized effort. In our own Church the "genius for organization," which many think has in a measure been transmitted from Mr. Wesley to the whole Methodist body, has possibly in some cases proved a snare to us. We are thoroughly organized as a Church, and almost instinctively when any special interest has to be attended to those concerned turn to the recognized representatives of general interests. The burden first falls upon the presiding elder, and after him on the pastor, but it is a fatal mistake to assume that these persons will serve for all possible purposes. Each particular cause must be put forward by those who both understand it and believe in it, and in all cases where a vast community has to be reached the appeal must be placed in the hands of those who are both willing and able to see that the work is thoroughly done.

At no point is the need of organization more imperative than in the means devised for collecting missionary funds. In the United States it has long been the usage to depend chiefly on one annual collection, made publicly at one of the Sunday services, and supplementary collections taken in the Sunday school. Happily for the Church Missionary Society, such a plan could not be generally adopted in Anglican congrega-

tions, owing to the divided views and feelings of those in charge of the parish churches, and the result is that special provision has to be made for this purpose. This is done in a systematic and thorough manner. As far as possible a band or society of "gleaners" is organized in every parish—persons whose special duty is that of gathering funds—and in this way a vast constituency is gathered, which really forms the foundation on which the Society rests and on which it depends for financial support. The vital fact must not be overlooked that this constituency is made up of intelligent voluntary supporters of the missionary cause, and that in no possible case can it occur that the interests of the work are sacrificed by pastors who do not have any convictions on the missionary question. To build up a great missionary society it is absolutely necessary that there shall be a great constituency of intelligent men and women who believe unqualifiedly in the enterprise, and who regard it as second to no other interest on earth. The annual missionary collection in the average American church is an occasion of extremely doubtful value. It fails to reach a majority of the membership; its success depends on weather and other incidental influences; it often proves a burden to a few, while it fails to touch the many; it transforms a daily duty into an annual function; and, worst of all, it prevents the rank and file of the membership from taking an active interest in a work which should enlist every disciple of Jesus Christ.

For ten years past the Church Missionary Society has been carrying on an experiment, if indeed it ought longer to be called an experiment, which illustrates in a remarkable manner the truly missionary spirit, as well as the faith and courage of those who have its interests in charge. During the decade previous to 1887 nothing notable had occurred in the history of the Society to indicate any necessity for a new departure of any kind. The income had increased slightly, but not sufficiently to suggest to those in authority that any advanced movement was called for. Indeed, the receipts for that year were less than they had been ten years before. The committee, however, were confronted by a fact to which the attention of all missionary authorities has been called over and

over again during recent years, namely, that apparently well-qualified young men were coming forward and offering their services as missionaries to the foreign field, while not enough money was found in the treasury to send them abroad. A phenomenon of this kind ought to excite the most profound interest in the hearts and minds of those who believe that the missionary enterprise is from God, and in the case of this truly missionary committee it received the attention which it deserved. The subject was discussed in all its bearings, and after earnest prayer the policy was deliberately adopted of "refusing no candidate on financial grounds." In other words, the committee deliberately resolved, and proclaimed the fact to the whole Christian world, that all applicants having the necessary qualifications would be accepted and sent into the foreign field. Such an announcement was startling enough, and it need hardly be said was looked upon with grave misgivings by many experienced missionary leaders at home and abroad. A rule of this kind, however, depends for its value upon the wisdom of those who administer it. When such an announcement is made the first thought which occurs to many is that a wild project is proposed, more or less similar to other projects of recent years, in which the guidance of ordinary common sense has been ignored: but no such thought had for a moment entered the minds of those who made this proclamation to the world. Their meaning was substantially as follows: If any young man having a sufficient education and a fairly good physical constitution, and having the spiritual qualification which a messenger of Christ going to a non-Christian country ought to possess, avows his solemn conviction that God has specifically called him to the work, and if he brings with him letters of commendation from perfectly trustworthy Christian persons, he is to be accepted and sent forth as a messenger of Christ to some mission field in foreign lands. The reader can see at a glance that this is very different from a proclamation that the time is short; that Christ's messengers must be hurried abroad without delay; that every man and woman who professes to be called should be sent; and that whole platoons of candidates should be hurried off to foreign fields without pausing to take time to examine into their antecedents or their qualifications, or to arrange for

their reception in the strange lands to which they are to go. The committee of the Church Missionary Society acted in a very different way. No man was to be accepted until all possible care had been taken to prevent mistakes; but, when all proper questions had been asked and answered, if the candidate stood approved in the eyes of those on whom responsibility rested he was to be accepted and sent abroad.

In making this proposal it was clearly foreseen that the Society would assume much greater responsibility than that of simply supporting a given number of men and women in a foreign land. New missionaries, if worth maintaining at all, may be expected to create new responsibilities in the fields to which they are sent. Sometimes missionary managers in the home land even yield to feelings of impatience when their representatives abroad by their very success force embarrassments upon their supporters at home. This may seem unreasonable, of course, but it is inevitable; and prudent men, in the worldly sense of the word prudent, may be expected to anticipate a very large increase of expenditure when volunteers are accepted and sent out at a rate limited only by the numbers which present themselves. All this was clearly foreseen, and yet the responsibility was deliberately and solemnly assumed, and a full and free invitation extended to all the young men and young women of the Church who felt moved to present themselves as candidates for service.

This somewhat extraordinary movement was inaugurated ten years ago, and has been on trial long enough to enable us to form a somewhat mature opinion of the practical wisdom which prompted it. What has been the result? In the first place, the annual revenue of the Society has been distinctly benefited by the new policy. The very first year an increase of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was reported in the receipts. Although there have been fluctuations from time to time, the average has kept well in advance ever since, until at the close of the past year the total receipts were five hundred thousand dollars higher than at the beginning of what was considered a hazardous experiment. During these ten years no less than seven hundred missionaries, not including wives of missionaries, have been sent abroad, a number only two hundred less than the

whole number sent during the previous fifty years. After deducting deaths and retirements the ordained missionaries have in these ten years increased from two hundred and forty-seven to three hundred and seventy-six, the lay missionaries from forty to one hundred and ten, the unmarried women from twenty-two to two hundred and forty-four, making a total increase from three hundred and nine to seven hundred and thirty. We quote from the last annual report:

> The increase in particular fields in the ten years is still more noteworthy: In West Africa, from eleven to forty-four; in eastern equatorial Africa, from twenty-six to eighty-three; in the Mohammedan lands (Egypt, Palestine, Persia), from seventeen to seventy-seven; in India, from one hundred and thirty-three to two hundred and forty-four; in China, from thirty to one hundred and eleven; in Japan, from fourteen to sixty-three.

This remarkable policy—for what was at first an experiment may now be regarded as a settled policy—deserves the most careful attention of all missionary managers. From every point of view it has proved successful. It is the testimony of all who have known the former, as well as the more recent, missionaries that there has been an improvement rather than a decline in the average ability of those sent out during the last decade. From a financial point of view the new policy has been equally successful. The annual report for the current year says, "It is on the whole abundantly clear that the Society, after meeting all its enhanced liabilities, is not in a worse, but is relatively in a better—much better—financial position than it was ten years ago."

At the approach of the centenary of the Society a plan was adopted for celebrating that event by what was termed a "three years' enterprise," comprising a series of measures for the purpose, "not of glorifying the Society, but of arousing its members and Christian people generally to the great work for which the Society is only one of many instruments, the work of extending His kingdom who shall reign forever and ever." A number of objects were placed before the friends and supporters of the Society, the most notable of which was "a comprehensive review of the Society's methods and position at home and abroad." It will surprise some readers to find the writer selecting this as the most notable of the several projects

put forward by the committee; but we do so deliberately. Missionary societies, like all other human organizations, have defects and weak points in their construction, and are capable of improvement. It is not generally considered edifying to call attention to a fact of this kind, however transparently evident it may be. The traditional notion has been that nothing must be said or done which could in any way be so interpreted as to reflect upon a society or weaken the confidence of its supporters. Years ago we saw an official letter which had been sent out from an American society, earnestly exhorting the members of a foreign mission not to discuss questions of missionary policy in print. It was assumed by the writer of that letter, as it is generally assumed in all such cases, that public confidence must be retained at any and all hazards, and that it would be extremely perilous for any intimation to get into print that the existing methods were not the best that could be devised, or that the success achieved in the past had not been in every sense satisfactory. Such a course may be natural enough, but it is not wise. Confidence can only be created and retained by treating all parties with absolute honesty. It ought to be assumed from the start that missionary societies, like all other bodies, are capable of improvement; that the missionary enterprise is comparatively new, and that mistakes not only exist but may be expected to exist; and that the best friends of the cause are those who have the courage to point out weak spots in the machinery and to indicate possible methods of improvement. It is certainly a new thing in missionary history to find a great society, not only admitting that its methods may need revision, but inviting the outside public to devote three years to the task of carefully examining these methods, with a view to confirm what is manifestly sound and good, to improve what needs improvement, and to do away with what has been found to be hurtful to the best interests of the work. We do not wish to intimate for a moment that any of the great American missionary societies stand in manifest need of a thorough reconstruction, but it is perhaps not too much to say that every one of them is capable of improvement at certain important points. Instead of shrinking from the mere mention of possible amendments it would be a good

thing if two or three years were devoted to a thorough overhauling of their machinery. The great missionary enterprise is probably about to enter upon a wider stage of action than it has before known. It is barely a century old. With the dawn of another century new and amazing opportunities will be set before all the Churches, and there certainly can be no harm in saying that the organizations which have grown up in the past, however well fitted they may have been found for their own era, are not likely to prove equal to the stupendous tasks of the coming century.

Among the various tasks assigned to this three years' enterprise was that of inducing individuals, families, associations, parishes, or local societies to support individual missionaries in the foreign field. This policy was commended to our own Church in a notable anniversary address * some twenty-five or more years ago; and although it has since received a measure of attention it has on the whole been regarded with disfavor. It is popularly known in some circles as the "living link" policy. In the Church Missionary Society it bears the peculiar title of "own missionaries." The idea is that the general interest would be increased by giving donors as far as possible a personal interest in the work. Whether we all may approve the plan or not, we are confronted by the undoubted fact that a large proportion of givers desire very much to have a personal interest in at least part of the money which they give. They wish to know where it goes, to what purpose or purposes it is applied, and what result will probably flow from their contribution. Finding a desire of this kind beginning to manifest itself, it was proposed in connection with this special movement that an effort be put forth to secure special support for all the new missionaries to be sent out during the then pending year. These missionaries were eighty-five in number. In the month of June, 1896, support had been found for nine of these, and the committee in the published minutes expressed the hope that similar support might be found for all the remainder—that is, that private parties or associations would undertake the support of one or more, in whole or in part, so that the entire reinforcement might be promptly sent abroad

* By Dr. W. F. Warren.

without adding to the current expenditure of the Society. By July 14 it was found that seven were going abroad at their own expense, and that supporters had been found for thirty others. Five were provided for by colonial associations, while thirty-five remained without provision. By the middle of August thirteen others had found supporters, and "on the day of the valedictory meeting the Honorary Clerical Secretary had the joy of announcing that for every one of the new missionaries—as the committee had diffidently ventured to suggest four months before—offers of support had been received, and there were in fact a few such offers which had to be allocated to missionaries already on the staff."

It has been objected to this scheme that the pledges of support given may fail at any time; that the parties thus supported may be expected to demand special rights and privileges; and that patrons will often attempt to interfere in the work of those who are supported by them. These possible drawbacks may, however, be easily guarded against. It should be an invariable law in every foreign mission that all workers occupy a common basis of subordination to the administration of the mission. One missionary may, for instance, have private means and support himself, the salary of another may be furnished by a private party, while a third is simply dependent on the common treasury; but as working missionaries all should be placed on a common basis. The fact that a man supports himself should not entitle him to independence of action. If he cannot work in the ranks like an ordinary missionary he should not be connected with any missionary society. Then, as to patrons withdrawing their pledges of support, no difficulty need be experienced. If the policy becomes once well understood it will be found that quite as many new offers of support will be received as notices of withdrawal given by former patrons. A list of general supporters of the work will show a tendency to enlarge rather than to shrink, and a very moderate amount of foresight will suffice to prevent any serious embarrassment from arising in the work.

No logic is so invincible as that of facts. We are here brought face to face with some missionary facts of a very astonishing character. At a time of general missionary depres-

sion we have our attention drawn to a spectacle which seems to contradict all theories and defy all fears. By remaining absolutely true to its divine mission, by exhibiting in practical work the courage which only faith inspires, and by carefully, prayerfully, and wisely cooperating with the convictions implanted in the hearts of earnest believers, we see a great missionary society moving steadily forward, bidding defiance to financial panics and political changes, and accomplishing what might almost literally be called impossible tasks.

If space permitted we would like to notice other points of great interest, but can only add a few words concerning the care which is exercised in the selection of missionaries. In the most literal sense this Society lays its hand suddenly on no man. First of all, there is a winnowing of the candidates who present themselves, and next a careful assorting of those accepted and a course of study assigned to them suited to their present standing and future work. Rarely, indeed, is anyone sent abroad without having been under close inspection for at least a year at home. As a rule young men do not marry until they have been three or more years in the foreign field, by which time their ability to endure a strange climate and their general fitness for permanent work are usually fully tested. Practical experience has convinced the managers of the Society that this is a valuable rule and one which adds to the probability of protracted and permanent service in the field. The term "brotherhood" is not favorably regarded by the Society, but several bands of associated workers known as "communities" have been sent abroad. Young men of this class receive half pay, and, living together as they do, can enjoy about as much comfort as others. Their agreement is limited to five years. As a general rule the agents of the Society are cultured and devoted men, and, as before intimated, there has been for some years past a somewhat marked improvement in the general tone and efficiency of the service.

J. M. Thoburn

Art. II.—A GLORY OF OUR CENTURY.

In the order of the ages the nineteenth century takes its place bright with a luster of its own, the radiance of emancipation. In no other have bonds so been broken and bondmen so gone free. The majestic utterance of our first State paper —"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; . . . that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men"—may have been framed in England and, heard across the echoing straits in France, may thence have been caught up and spoken in far-off America; but the world has taken it for the processional chant of this last hundred years. At the end of our century it may hush for lack of occasion, involuntary servitude being at last unknown.

Human slavery is prehistoric. It already exists when society first becomes traceable, and there is no record of its origin. And so was it in accord with "the hardness of their hearts," and so interwoven with social conditions, that those earlier times of its prevalence "God winked at," nor in the Gospel did he command men everywhere to abolish it. He but gave orders mitigating what he did not directly attack. Only by evolution—the continuous activity of secondary causes energized by the abiding First Cause, the Holy Ghost who patiently moved upon the face of Christendom—was the wrong of slavery unfolded, and emancipation urged as a duty upon the human conscience. At length came the fullness of the time, when the revival under Wesley had quickened the life of England's piety. A planter brought from the West Indies to Liverpool a slave, Benjamin Somerset. Ben fell sick, and his master turned him adrift. Granville Sharp cared for the poor alien. On his recovery his master reclaimed him. Lord Mansfield held that slavery, now for ages unknown to English soil and gone from English usage, could be established by statute alone. There was no such statute; and hence slavery did not exist on English soil, and Somerset was free. This, given in June, 1772, was a decision for the ages and generations, and Somerset—a lonely alien, free by the grace of God through Sharp's humanity and Mansfield's justice—walks in

the front of a great historic train. The decision touched some hearts with a new and noble sympathy. Cowper arose as *vates*, to write:

> Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
> That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
> And jealous of the blessing. Spread it, then,
> . . . . . .
> . . . that where Britain's power
> Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.

This lofty appeal came to a boy at school, in whose dwarfed and shapeless frame dwelt a soul large and luminous; and he took as a theme for an essay, "Is it Right to Hold Human Beings in Bondage?" Eight years later, at twenty-one, he was in Parliament for forty-five years of public service, and thence to Westminster Abbey. In his sixth year of membership he was converted, and by the heavenly grace fitted for every good word and work. The next year he introduced the forerunner of emancipation, the "Bill for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade." Troublous times came on—the volcanic days of France, the Napoleonic wars—and the stress of politics was long and stormy. There were twenty years of struggle. At length, on March 16, 1807, the House voted that "no vessel should clear for slaves from a British port after May 1, 1807, or slave be landed therein after March 1, 1808." The Lords changed "therein" to "in any country, territory, or place," which the House that same day accepted. The occasion was urgent, for the king was about to change his ministry, and that might bring postponement; but Lord Grenville's last act was, by his majesty's order, to affix to the bill the king's seal, making it law. The clock was striking twelve, and the meridian sun looked in full-orbed splendor upon the royal sanction of the Magna Charta for Africa and mankind. Reason and humanity had won as against vice and avarice, and the victory came to stay. Lord Grenville called it "the most glorious measure ever adopted by any legislative body in the world." Bishop Watson in ecstasy declared, "This great act of justice will be recorded in heaven." The next year our Congress followed the example of England. The slave trade

under any flag and on any waters was made piracy, and slavers counted as enemies of the human race. Thus one more great crime was struck from the indulgences of Christendom. It was high time. The African slave trade, as lawful European commerce, had begun in 1481; as American, in 1562. In four million square miles of equatorial Africa it had consumed ten millions of people, of whom the happier majority perished before embarking. So dawned our century's peculiar glory. Clouds were around it, storms awaited it, but it dawned.

As the sunny hours follow the morning, so emancipations followed the abolition of the trade. In 1792 Wilberforce had brought in a bill for the abolition of slavery. Forty-one years in the patience of faith he gave to this task of love. Ministries changed, colleagues dropped away, a new generation came and went, his own fortune dwindled, and his health was broken; but he ever pressed toward the mark of his calling. Sinking in his last illness, he learned on Friday, July 26, 1833, of the passage of his bill. "Thank God that I have lived to see this day!" came from his feeble lips, and three days later he went to his rest in peace. "Unaided by place, party, or sword, he had reached a social and political eminence never before attained by any man." "He deserved to be reckoned as one of the twelve." Gazing on his memorial among England's immortals, one thinks, "This was the saintly statesman." The bill became law August 28, 1833, ordering apprenticeship for August 1, 1834, and freedom for August 1, 1840. And this is how freedom was welcomed. In Antigua, at St. Johns, in the largest church the slaves kept watch night, July 31, with praise and prayer. At midnight all knelt in silence to receive, as from on high, the boon of freedom. On the instant a sudden storm gave from the sky a flash and a peal, as if heaven with fire and trumpet, as at Sinai, were marking the first emancipation of the century and of the world. Then, like a volcano's burst, came out the African temper in leapings and claspings, in shouts and songs, a frenzy of gratitude and gladness. This spent itself, and the night went on, given to Scripture, counsel, and consecration. When morning came its rosy light, as of old on the Red Sea strand, fell on a people eight hundred thousand strong, breathing the bracing air of freedom.

The "Honorable Company of Merchants Trading to the Indies" had handed over to England a region no longer merely a province for trade, but grown to be a State and now an empire of complex civil and military administration. Here the Mohammedans had long made slaves of infidels taken in war, until, in 1561, Akbar, the noblest of the Mogul rulers, forbade it. Yet from various causes slavery had grown in India. The slave often fared better than the hired servant, and men sold themselves into bondage as a provision for old age. At the date of the West Indian emancipation India must have contained ten—perhaps twelve—millions of slaves. A military officer had made a preliminary order, but the emancipating edict came in 1843, and since then there have been no slaves in the British empire. In the British protectorates the same wise and humane policy has been followed, and in 1881 slavery ceased in Egypt. Zanzibar, the chief ivory market of the world, has for ages been the great Arabian slave mart. Here "the open sore of the world" discharged its horrors, and the Tippoo Tibs—the fiends of Livingstone and Stanley—centered their dreadful trade. In our year of 1897 the British representative has stopped all that, freeing only five thousand slaves but blocking the infernal transit. On the continent Sir Henry H. Johnston has freed the slaves and crushed the traffic in the four hundred thousand square miles of Nyassaland. Does Livingstone from the eternal calms look down upon his heart's desire in this his realm of suffering and toil? On the West Coast, Sir George Goldie has done a like work in Nigeria among eleven millions always scared and raided by slave hunters. Slavery is now not found under England's banner. Her morning drumbeat, following the hours and encircling the earth, rouses no bondman to his toil. There, by law at least, the servant is freed from his master. And does Wilberforce know that this is just a hundred years from his first parliamentary effort for emancipation?

At their revolt from Austria, in 1848, the Magyar nobles freed two and a half millions of serfs, as was in harmony with their own effort for national liberty. That effort failed, but did not go backward. The concordat of 1856 confirmed the emancipation, and abolished serfdom throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Soon followed a movement which in magnitude, if not in moral quality, surpasses all its like in our century. Three hundred years ago there were no slaves in Russia, though but one man, the czar, was truly free. The peasantry were of the warrior and of the farmer class, the latter laden with the support of the former. Then Boris, minister of the czar Feodor, forbade the passing of the peasantry from one landlord's domain to another's. Fixed thus to the soil, the tillers became slaves, and the czar from being the largest landholder became the largest slaveholder, the largest in the world. Living men remember that terrible episode of Christmas, the Crimean War; the bugler and some of the riders in the charge of the light brigade are still "back from the jaws of death." We recall how ruinous, like that of France after Waterloo, was Russia's condition when Alexander II followed Nicholas on the throne. At home and abroad all was broken and depressed, and Tourgueneff's *Notes of a Sportsman*, the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of Russia, showed the hard lot of the serfs. Alexander, sad and heavy laden, proved equal to his task. The Crimean War did wonders for Russia, and the fall of Sebastopol was the death-blow of serfdom. In 1857 the crown held twenty-two millions of serfs, and the nobles as many. Besides, there was a peculiar class of "servants," in all forty-seven millions, unfree, slaves as absolutely as our Southern negroes. The ukase of 1861 abolished compulsory residence and labor, half the serf's product by crops or wages going to the master. In 1863 purchase of land was arranged. The government gave the nobles for their land bonds bearing interest, and sold it on fifty years' time to the freedmen. Three years later the crown lands were thus sold, and in 1883 the entire transaction was completed. It is doubted whether the serfs are as yet the happier for their freedom. They still need much reform, but they are free, and it is said that in the new lands of Siberia they take up a better life. In Central Asia, Russia has swept away slavery and the slave trade among the subject tribes, and to-day in its far borders all its subjects are equal before the law, that is, before the czar. Russian emancipation, affecting forty-four per cent of the population, has been the world's movement for personal freedom. There are now no slaves

in Europe save a few in the convulsive, dying grasp of the unspeakable Turk.

Of the Spanish States on the American continent this article need not tell in particular. As they freed themselves from Spain, so they made freedom the legal condition of all within their borders. Spain herself in 1886 decreed emancipation in Cuba. Brazil was the last of the American States to abandon slavery. As early as 1854 she abolished all traffic in slaves, and this was a long step forward. In 1871 the Parliament made a law for gradual emancipation. At last, by popular demand emancipation immediate and complete was voted in 1888, and a million of slaves were free. The Portuguese have been the chief slavers of Christendom. In Africa they still "hire," chiefly with rum, "laborers" for St. Thomas and other islands —the last dreadful relic of the trade.

In our own nation the slaves of the North were mostly freed in this century. Thus, in New York all after 1820 were born free. The older were held to mild apprenticeship. The last slaves in the State were three women in the house of Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro. This man in 1833, at Utica, looked on the mobbing of an abolition meeting. He went home an abolitionist, giving fortune and service to the slave, and making his ample mansion a station for fugitives. But, after all, the emancipation to us the most interesting and important of our century is the one with which we are most familiar, that in our own generation. It differs from others in that it was a war measure; perhaps, also, that it made the freed millions a peculiar charge upon our patriotism and benevolence. Since most of us have seen, and all know, its history, detail is here quite needless; yet in its connections it was spectacular, panoramic. How, in 1856, was the slavery problem past man's solution, its issue beyond his foresight! How fierce and Titanic was the struggle for slavery's rule! Hunter and Fremont by military order within their departments made some brief skirmishes, and Butler's counting slaves "contraband of war" was witty but not comprehensive. Emancipation came of an intense necessity. The campaigns of 1862 were disastrous, and darkened the Union cause. After Antietam it was known that Lincoln had thoughts of emancipation. A loyal Southerner

wrote him with tearful urgency against it. "You must not expect me to give up this government without playing my last card," was the quiet reply. To Northerners pressing it he said, "Had we not better wait for something like a victory?" Lincoln did not move until convinced that slavery and the Union could not both be saved. The unworthier must go. He saw that slavery, the inciting cause, was the support of the rebellion, while it was a weakening and a scandal to Northern patriotism. Freedom by compensation got no hearing, though he held the thought until six weeks before the fall of the Confederacy. At length, on September 22, 1862—a hundred days before New Year's—he gave notice that "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of any State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." In due time the supplementary proclamation followed the monitory, declaring the act accomplished. "And upon this act," wrote Lincoln, "sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." This proclamation came in storm and darkness. Many Northern States, even his own, Illinois, took sides against Lincoln. The border States, with four hundred thousand slaves—for whom they refused an offer of fifty million dollars, and thus, as Lincoln said, lost "their mighty uncertain, two-legged property"—rejected his policy. The tide of war soon turned, Lincoln was approved, and no longer did a slave breathe the air of the United States.

We come to the end of this hundred years with many a wrong unrighted, many a gloom unbrightened, many a grief uncomforted; and man's perfect state is a still far-off event. But is not freedom, just and legal, the distinctive, the glowing, the impassioned expression in the face of our century?

A. B. Hyde

Art. III.—CHRIST AND BUDDHA: RESEMBLANCES AND CONTRASTS.

Perhaps no other country in the whole world has been such a rich and suggestive field for the historian, the poet, and the novelist as India. The splendor of its courts, the magnificence of its kings and princes, the vast wealth of its ruling classes, the richness of its products and manufactures—these, together with the strength and character of its people, have given it a fame which has extended to every part of the habitable globe; and however far we reach back into the distant ages we find India one of the greatest and most powerful of nations. Having immense mountain chains upon which the snows lie eternally, the most hardy and warlike tribes are thus made possible, who have all the courage of the Scottish Highlander and the unconquerable spirit of the Swiss; having marvelous waterways, which include such rivers as the Indus and the Ganges and other gigantic arteries, the most varied conditions of life are essential; having a coast line of thousands of miles, by means of this it held commerce not only with the adjoining countries but with Africa and the mighty islands which are nations in themselves. With all this wealth and variety of life we can readily see that a country so favored soon attracted vast multitudes of people and in the morning twilight of human history occupied a prominence peculiarly its own.

Into this nation, some five hundred years before the advent of Christ, Siddhartha Gautama was born, the founder of that faith which goes under the name of Buddhism. It is well for Christian people to remember that Buddhism is not to be regarded merely in the light of an ancient faith which once existed but which has passed away, and that in considering it we are only exploring a wondrous ruin, as of some old cathedral, or abbey, or fortress, covered with the shadows of the centuries, and of which only mighty fragments remain. Buddhism is no ruin, Thebes-like, silent and deserted under an Egyptian sky, no religious Pompeii buried in the ashes and lava of uncounted years; it is a living faith; it is the religion

of, perhaps, five hundred millions of people, more than the combined populations of the European and American continents. One child out of every three born into this world comes into a Buddhist family, and one soul out of every three that leaves this world goes from a Buddhist home. A religious system so vast as this, and one which has stood the shocks of twenty-four centuries, eminently deserves the attention of all thoughtful Christians.

The first resemblance that suggests itself between Buddha and Christ is in his royal birth. Of the fact of his kingly lineage there is no room for doubt, for while there is much variation of opinion as to the exact time when he was born, and also many strange legends in relation to his advent, no question has ever been raised as to the royalty of his parentage or to the place of his nativity. His early life was spent like that of all other Indian princes of his time, and his education was as varied, as extensive, and as thorough as was possible in that age. His father's kingdom was of great extent, embracing what is now known as one of the richest and most populous provinces of all India, and the young prince had a future of almost unlimited wealth and enjoyment. Being of singular beauty of person, and having rare gifts and accomplishments, it was easy to predict for him a sovereignty of exalted fame and splendor; for, with such abilities as he was master of, together with the vast wealth of the imperial estate, nothing seemingly by way of earthly pleasure could be denied him. A marriage with a beautiful princess crowned his early manhood, and from the human standpoint his happiness should have been complete.

But what a strange thing the human heart is! What is there that will fill up its measureless desires? The most boundless wealth may be poured in upon it; every luxury and pleasure possible even to the imagination may be put at its disposal, and yet it remains restless and dissatisfied. But is not this a proof of the essential greatness of man, and an evidence of his divine lineage? The common brute is satisfied with his place in the stall or in the field, for what is he but a beast of burden? But man, the offspring of God, has in him qualities that reach out after the infinite, nor will anything

satisfy him short of the divine and the eternal. We may moralize as we please concerning the greed, and selfishness, and desire, and ambition of men, and we may call upon them to cease their struggles and anxieties, but we might as well ask the birds to make their nests in the sea, or the fish to make their homes in the sky. Man was not only made for God, as the eye was made for light, but man was made of God, just as the light is made of the sun; and until the heart finds its completion in God nothing on earth will meet its desires. And so we find the young prince wandering, sad and lonely, in the gardens and parks that surrounded his palace, his mind agitated with the problems of life, searching in vain for some solution of its mysteries. Frequently he would say: "Nothing on earth is stable, nothing is real. Life is like the spark produced by the friction of wood; it is lighted and extinguished, but we know not whence it came or whither it goes. O that I might attain it, for then would I bring light unto men!" But here we see a sharp contrast between Buddha and Christ. Buddha was dwelling in thick darkness, and his poor yearning soul was as

> An infant crying in the night;
> An infant crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry.

But Christ lifts up his divine voice with a strength and clearness which are irresistible, and says, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Buddha had not even a lamp nor a torch by which to guide his steps through the mazes and perplexities that surrounded him, but Christ had a light that is above the brightness of the sun, and which lighteth everyone that believeth in him.

Wandering one day beyond the palace grounds, and coming out upon the highway, Buddha suddenly came in contact with three phases of life that filled him with dismay. He saw an old man, bald, wrinkled, feebly leaning on his staff; he saw a man suffering with a loathsome disease, homeless, friendless, dying by the roadside; he saw a poor dead body on the way to the place of burial, the bearers and mourners filling the air with cries and lamentations. And as he saw these things he exclaimed: "Woe to youth which hastens on to old age! Woe

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to health which succumbs to so many dire diseases! Woe to life which ends so miserably! I will go aside and meditate how I may bring deliverance." Then came what has been well called "the great renunciation." For, with a self-abnegation at which the world has ever marveled, and with a devotion which has challenged the admiration of all succeeding centuries, Buddha put aside the brilliant and tempting life which surrounded him and, turning away from wife, father, home, everything, entered upon the sublime task of the world's redemption; nor did he falter or fail for the fifty years that followed, in which with wondrous heroism he tried to proclaim the truth which he claimed had been revealed to him. In our less thoughtful, or possibly even contemptuous, moods we speak of Buddhism as paganism and of Buddha as a poor ignorant barbarian. But when a young man just thirty years of age—the same age as that of Christ when he entered upon his public ministry—lays aside the honors, the dignities, the wealth, and everything else that is so precious in human thought; and when for the sake of his fellow-men, that in some way he may help to redeem them from bondage and bring light to their darkened souls, he gives himself up to a life of devotion and sacrifice almost without parallel in the world's history; and when, by rare beauty and holiness of character, by the most exquisite sweetness and charity of life, he so commends his doctrines that multitudes follow him with unswerving fidelity —such a man is worthy of both respect and reverence. Buddha drew no sword, after the manner of Mohammed; he opened no gates for passion and desire; he taught personal purity, self-sacrifice, patience, honor, truthfulness; never once did he appeal to anything that was vile and degrading in nature or life, and it is impossible to withhold from his memory its just meed of honor and admiration.

On leaving his home Buddha went to a distinguished teacher of Brahmanism, hoping to find in him the light and life of which he was in quest, but the Brahman had nothing to give him except a religious faith which was a thousand years old, and which was a compound of corrupt Judaism and heathen mysticism. From this he turned away, and though it was the faith in which he had been born, and in which he had spent

his early life, yet it failed utterly to meet the cravings of his anxious heart. He felt that a religion which separated man from man by the iron laws of caste was entirely at variance with his sense of human brotherhood; that the god of such a faith was not as tender and as loving as poor dying men could both worship and love; and that such a religion meant only the most heartless tyranny for the soul, and a tyranny from which there seemed no possible escape. And yet what worse was Brahmanism to Buddha than the scientific religion of these latter days? Men are asking us to worship a text-book God, a God of laws and forms, without pity, without tenderness, without affection, whose government is as inflexible as fate, and whose control is absolute and pitiless. But hundreds of years before Buddha was born David voiced the need not only of the Indian prince, but of all men everywhere, in that profound utterance, "My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God." Failing to find any comfort in Brahmanism, Buddha retired to the depths of a mighty forest and with five chosen companions gave himself up to a life of fasting and prayer, and for six years practiced all manner of fleshly mortifications. Nothing could exceed the discipline of these years. Only food of the most simple nature was allowed, and that very sparingly. Days and nights were given to meditation and prayer. Seclusion that was as complete as desperate men could secure made this hermit life more austere and rigid than anything in the annals of the Romish Church, and by utter vanquishment of the body, with all of its desires and appetites, Buddha hoped to attain that spiritual condition in which his soul would find rest.

And now a singular experience comes to him. Sitting one day under the trees, rapt in intense thought, with his face turned eastward as though the place of the sunrise had a special sacredness in his mind, all at once the clouds broke in his soul, light burst in upon him, until his whole being flamed and glowed, and instantly he felt that he was no longer a poor benighted creature, doomed to wander in solitude and darkness, but that from henceforth he was a child of the light. We may speak of this as an unnatural condition into which he had brought himself by his prolonged fastings, his midnight vigils,

his long-continued and exhausting meditations, and that the body gave way under the intense strain, resulting in visions and dreams; but before we commit ourselves fully to any such conclusion let us bear in mind that this exalted experience remained with him for well-nigh fifty years, and was accompanied by an enthusiasm which never declined, a zeal which was unabating, a serenity which nothing could disturb, and a beauty and consistency of life the memory of which abides to this day. Anything more remarkable than this experience is not known in the history of religion. A complete transformation was effected in his whole manner of life. From being a recluse he at once entered upon the most zealous missionary labor. He no longer shunned his fellow-men, but sought them and sought them diligently, that he might share with them the joys of this new experience.

And here we see another of the resemblances which he had with Christ. For just as Jesus after his struggle in the wilderness entered upon a public ministry, teaching and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and everywhere urging the people to seek the light and wisdom which cometh from above, so the great Buddha after his conflict in the forest and the incoming of the new light began his marvelous work; nor did he cease his extraordinary labors until death put its chilling hand upon him and his lips were frozen into a marble sleep.

And there is a further resemblance in the fact that, just as Christ protested with all his divine energy against the tyranny of the scribes and Pharisees, and against the monstrous burdens which they had imposed upon the people by their traditions and commandments, so did Buddha protest against the rule and priestcraft of the Brahmans; and with a courage and force which are simply amazing he entered single-handed into a conflict with a religion which was so intrenched in the habits and life of the nation as to seem well-nigh invincible. He felt just as Jesus felt, just as all great teachers and thinkers have ever felt, that a religion which consists in rites, and ceremonies, and forms, and ordinances, and which is observed only in the letter and has no relation to the spirit, while it may have a charm for the outward sense is utterly destitute of soul, and cannot, therefore, meet the desires of the heart. Hence, with

a courage which has never been surpassed he began his noble warfare, and from that warfare he never withdrew until death released him.

The fundamental doctrine of Buddhism is that of "the four sublime truths:"

1. All existence is evil, because it is subject to change and decay. Compare this with the words of Jesus, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," and what a startling contrast is realized!

2. The source of this evil is the desire for things which are to change and pass away. How weak and insignificant these words are when read in the light of the Gospel, that a "man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

3. This desire and the evil which follows it are not inevitable, for if we choose we can arrive at Nirvana, when both shall utterly cease. The pathos, the hopelessness, the utter helplessness of Buddhism are here revealed; for what is Nirvana but magnificent nothingness, when the individual life, like the bubble on the river, breaks and is lost again and forever in the trackless sea? Think of the words of Christ as compared with this third of the "sublime truths," "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

4. There is a fixed and certain method to adopt, by pursuing which we attain this end without possibility of failure. What a measureless distance there lies between this and the divine invitation, "Come unto me, . . . and I will give you rest." Stripped of its oriental vagueness and put in plain, simple terms, Buddhism declares that all existence is evil, and that the highest good is only attained by reaching Nirvana, a state of utter and eternal unconsciousness. Or, to put it even more plainly, Buddhism declares that this something which we call "life," this something by which we live and love, and which gives to our being everything that is of quality and value, reaches its highest form of development when it is absorbed into an infinite nothing, when the person, the individual, is swallowed up in the dreamless, motionless sleep of a mysterious Being which has no consciousness of even its own existence! To reach this state of Nirvana a moral code is

presented which, on its human side, is well-nigh perfect, and which is summarized in the words, "To cease from sin, to get virtue, to cleanse one's heart—this is the Buddhist law." Commandments are given after the manner of the Mosaic economy, and of the same number, and these are followed by precepts and injunctions in endless order.

In Buddhism there is neither God nor heaven, neither prayer nor pardon, neither faith nor providence, neither resurrection nor future. It is without one ray of light or gleam of hope from beginning to end. Absolute hopelessness, as well as utter helplessness, is the condition to which it brings every soul that accepts it. And yet there are those who poetize concerning the "Light of Asia," and claim for Buddhism a pre-eminence, or, to put it more carefully, an equality with the Gospel of Jesus. But where can there be anything of an equality? For in Buddhism there is no personal God, no gracious divine Spirit, no atoning Saviour, no overruling providence, no place of prayer, no absolution from sin, nothing of blessing, nothing of help, or comfort, or guidance, or strength. There is no incentive to noble living, no impulse toward vigorous, stalwart character. The purest and holiest affections wither at its touch, for with Nirvana personal consciousness ends, and when consciousness ceases all love passes away. When one thinks of these hundreds of millions living under a sky from which no sunlight ever streams, in which the glint of star is never seen, from which the clouds never break or pass away, it is impossible not to feel something of the sadness and hopelessness which have befallen them.

Of Buddha himself no question has ever been raised as to his sincerity; and where is there in all literature a more pathetic scene than when, after the absence of many years, he returns to his home in the garb of a mendicant and, under vows which he dared not break, meets once again his now aged father, his patient, loving wife, and the boy who was born to him when he entered on his ministry? A man capable of such loyalty to his faith and of such devotion to his followers could only be of the highest and purest type of character. But while we cannot but admire the man for his nobility and worth, and rank him with the foremost teachers and thinkers of the world,

yet in comparison with the Gospel of the grace of God his doctrines are as the blackness of darkness compared with that light which is the light of life.

His last words, when about eighty years of age and almost at the point of death, contain the gist of all that he taught and believed, and reveal both the strength and weakness of the whole Buddhist faith, "Let me impress it upon you that the parts and powers of man must be dissolved; therefore work out your salvation with all diligence." Should we not think more seriously of these hundreds of millions living in the deep darkness of such a religion as this—without a God in the heavens to hear their prayer, without a Spirit in their hearts to help them in their woe, without a Christ to whom they may flee for refuge; without a cross with its message of atonement for sin; without a hope of meeting those whom death has torn away; without a heaven to which they can look forward with holy triumph; without a place of prayer to which they may carry their burdened souls; without a hymn of praise to rise from their lips; without a Bible, with its words of promise and cheer; without a single joy of the Christian life? Be it ours, then, to let them know something of the Gospel of God's dear Son.

J. Wesley Johnston

Art. IV.—BEGINNINGS OF HUMANISM IN GERMANY.

In his fragmentary poem, *Der ewige Jude*, Goethe attempts to picture the world as the Saviour finds it when he comes back to earth some thousands of years after his crucifixion:

"Where," cried the Master, "is that light
That radiant from my Gospel shined?
Alas! I see here in this night
No cords of love in heaven twined.
And whither all the believers went
That faithful from my blood arose?
And O! the Spirit whom I sent,
His striving, too, no longer shows.
Creeps not with ever-hungry maw,
With damnèd loins of withered shape,
With hookèd, beastlike molded claw,
Bold Avarice for spoil agape?
Doth it not trample on all delight
Of neighbor in his rich content,
And wrap in starveling folds so tight
The life of nature's sweet extent?
Doth not the lord with every slave
Fortress himself in marble deep,
And then from own heart's deepest cave
Call forth the wolves to rend his sheep?
To still ofttimes his whimsied need
He snatches at men's very bones;
With loathsome gluttony to feed
On others' hopes amid their groans."

The lines might, however, have passed as a description of the declining years of the Middle Ages, and then fallen far short of the truth.

By the time of the downfall of scholasticism the Church had sunken into such corruption and immorality that Rome's degeneracy in her decadence was virtue beside it. And it was not the laxness of ecclesiastics in the distant north or east, far from authority and supervision; the Roman *curia* itself could serve as a hideous example of depravity to the rest of Christendom. "Truth has become madness in the papal courts," said the great Petrarch in the fourteenth century; "continence passes there for rustic stupidity, chastity

for disgrace. The more foul and abandoned a man is the greater the reputation he enjoys." The quotation does not end here, but when it comes to husbands delivering up their wives to priestly profligates it is a chronicle of infamy that one blushes to set down. Like priest like people, but here it was like pope like priest; for, certainly, in the days of the *Unsittlichkeit* of the Church, the clergy practiced merely as the popes preached, and from the eternal city that men had hoped would once more rule the world a contagion of uncleanness passed from pontiff, cardinal, and bishop till it reached the humblest priest and people. The monasteries were rich and powerful, but their preeminence was turned into licentiousness. When revenues, great as they were, became insufficient the cloisters resorted to simony to fill their coffers, and from Rome to the obscurest parish there was buying and selling in the positions of the Church.* The sale of indulgences and relics was a legitimate branch of trade. Those who bought were usually those who could ill afford to buy, but this mattered but little to the sacerdotal hucksters so long as the gains went to swell the receipts of corruption and immorality.

To relieve the austerity and irksomeness of a dead worship profane and sacrilegious rites were introduced. "Fools'" and "asses'" festivals, so called, were held, in the orgies of which masked communicants danced, sang, and even threw dice on the high altars themselves. No wonder that the coming of the black death seemed like a scourge from heaven to turn men's thoughts to terror and expectancy of doom. Levity became suddenly changed to superstition and complacency to frenzy, and in an excess of religious zeal processions of flagellants whipped themselves through the streets, the cries of the sufferers blending in wild fierceness with the chants of the priests.

The Jews served as a convenient cause of all these calamities, and they were rich. In the year 1348, the year the plague came, two thousand Jews were martyred on the same scaffold in Strasburg, and the chronicler reported, "Thus were the Jews burned in all the cities of the Rhine." The

* See Luther's address *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation.*

writer has himself read in the *Urkundenbuch* of the city of Freiburg a record of how, in 1349, all the Jews in the city were burned. In Erfurt six thousand of the unfortunates, overwhelmed by despair, barricaded themselves in their streets and were incinerated in their own homes. From Switzerland, north along the Rhine, and east and west over half the Continent, it was the same; and the heavens were blackened with the smoke of persecution, until the ghettos were desolate and deserted.

This demoralization in the power and influence of the Church during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages forms the dark background upon which new social and civil formations shaped themselves. The Church was losing its hold upon the people; new thoughts and things were beginning to arrest attention. It was thinking, which in the end means the death of tyranny, whether ecclesiastic or spiritual. Foremost among the causes which helped to awaken Europe were the Crusades, movements religious in their inception but resulting in a beneficial worldliness, and opening the eyes of the West to a new civilization and culture.* The Crusades infused a new life-element into the blood of Christendom. They gave a glamour of romance to chivalry that still lingers in ballad and tradition, and at the same time crowded feudalism into a decline from which it never rallied. National differences and aspirations meant the weakening of feudal power.

Commerce was greatly stimulated by the contact, or contest, of West and East. New customs originated, new tastes formed, new commodities were introduced. Wines, silks, sugars—all the luxurious products of the Orient—came back with the returning ships. Literature received new material, science new facts. Chemistry was enriched by new terms, medicine by new simples, gardens by new fruits and plants. Agriculture was improved, better ways of irrigation introduced, the windmill came from the East with those who fought for the holy grave. Strange animals were placed in public gardens, and the donkey and the mule were brought to bear the burdens of a new land. New ideas of elegance and

* Adams, *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, chapter xi, "The Crusades."

home comfort prevailed, and at the same time people grew interested in what was beyond the horizon. Now and then some Marco Polo adventured into strange lands, and the tales he told became the gossip of a nation. The study of geography in this way received a new interest that was a fitting preparation for the bold achievements of the fifteenth century.* It was in the thirteenth century that this new impulse began to be felt in the commercial life of Europe, and as a result the cities awoke to new prosperity and importance. This was particularly true in Germany. In the north, where the Baltic and the German Ocean afforded highways for the trade of northern Europe, the Hanse towns flourished and in time even surpassed Venice and the other cities of the Mediterranean. In the height of its power the League numbered fourscore cities, and ruled the coast from Holland to the confines of Russia. The inland cities of Germany prospered also at this breath from without. Leagues were formed, as in the seaport towns, and guilds grew up to protect the working classes from the power of the patrician and wealthy families; the organization of labor against capital is no new thing. North and south the cities naturally became the centers of progress and civilization. No people were wealthier, no artisans more renowned, than those of the German cities. Art took on a new vigor, and sculptures, paintings, great minsters in Gothic style, were the results. But, sad to tell, as the burghers rose the peasants sunk; they had to support the estates above them, and they were unequal to the task. They became a "*mühselig Volk*," who toiled like slaves with the patience of beasts, and they reaped no reward but taxes, tolls, and hopeless service.†

Let us now look for a moment at the condition of education in this period of transition which marks the close of the Middle Ages. As was inevitable, the growing depravity of the Church proved the decay of monastery and cathedral schools. The clergy grew more and more fond of fat benefices and good dinners, and less and less devoted to the seven liberal arts. Frequently it happened the priests could not comprehend the

* For the results of the Crusades see Thatcher and Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, p. 431, *et seq.*; Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilization, huitième leçon.*

† See Scherr, *Deutsche Kultur- und Sittengeschichte*, t. 1, cap. lx.

psalms they chanted; and the Abbey of St. Gallen, once the most famous cloister school north of the Alps, the home of Notker Labeo and Ekkehard, degenerated till neither the abbot nor any of his chapter could read or write; and the precious manuscripts of the classics and Church fathers, that had once delighted monkish scholars, were suffered to molder and decay under rubbish in a room which was never entered.* But learning seemed to prosper amid adversities, and when the cloister schools became too enfeebled to cherish it longer it transferred itself to the cities and lived upon their increasing activity and greatness. Burgher schools grew up to give such training as was demanded by the new trend of things, and instruction in reading and writing was begun in the mother tongue. Following these schools were Latin schools, the germ of the modern gymnasium. The term "Latin" is no misnomer when applied to these advanced schools, for all instruction centered upon Latin—such as it was—as the corner stone of the curriculum. Here we find the influence of scholasticism still potent, and methods were regulated by scholastic ideals. Grammar was still the chief part of linguistics, and the works of ecclesiastical and doctrinal writers the only texts. Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, the books of Stephanus Fiscus de Soutino, a few scholastic definitions, the *Symbolum Apostolicum*, the seven penitential psalms, and Donatus—these were some of the sources from which pupils drew their inspiration. There were but few books, and lessons were dictated with blows and cuffs for punctuation. And still education lived; it even flourished, under such conditions, and hordes of wandering students, *scholares vagantes*, crossed and crisscrossed the land in search of learning.

The Church was already in its decline when German universities were founded, and though as institutions they grew in numbers they could not rise above the low level of ecclesiastical example. The narrowness of decaying scholasticism prevailed in every faculty, and corporation and guild distinctions tyrannized in every student body. The students no longer were eager seekers for wisdom, but brawling, carousing vagabonds, who concealed a multitude of worldly sins under

* Scherr, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

the somber garb of a scholar. Instruction had nothing of *Lehrfreiheit* in it; theology still hung to the maxims of Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas; jurisprudence was burrowing in the wreck of Roman law or puzzling over the canonical ordinances of the Church, which, "considered as a theoretical whole, were just as remarkable a creation as scholastic theology;" in medicine Galenus was the chief authority. The seven liberal arts had been increased, but no scientific treatment of them had been added. Alchemy still busied *savants*, physics was mostly speculation. University scholars spoke and wrote in Latin, but its syntax was really false and its structure more German than classical.* The time for some great movement was at hand, and the few wise men who could read the signs of the times observed certain fitful indications like the seismic tremblings before a volcanic upheaval. The Church was dead, the empire an empty shadow, Germany, the nation, was the sport of foreigners and the despair of natives themselves. Surely, whatever awakening came must lie in the realm of letters.

We have now come to the period which witnessed a complete transformation in the thinking of transalpine Europe; and the advent of the change was as gradual as had been the demoralization which compelled it. From the days of the great schism the condition of the Church had aroused uneasiness, and various councils had labored in vain to effect some kind of a reformation. One man, John Huss, had died for it. There were some, also, in this time of humiliation who turned their thoughts toward personal godliness and groped for the light. This striving had been seen in the days of the schoolmen when St. Bernard, who may be called the father of mysticism, opposed the purely intellectual foundation of scholasticism and pleaded for a culture that came from the convictions of an unfailing hope. Out of such teaching grew the asceticism of later periods, and many godly men were numbered among its followers. Its most remarkable development, and one fullest of educational and reformative significance for Germany, was the *fratres communis vitæ*,† the "brotherhood of

* For the condition of learning in this period consult Schmidt, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, p. 354, *et seq.*

† Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 329, *et seq.*; Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, p. 326.

common life," at home in the Netherlands, but gradually extending its influence over Germany. It was a learned organization, with a curriculum founded upon a study of the Scriptures, and it expended its strength in promoting secular and religious education. The flower of all the great lives nourished by the order was Thomas à Kempis (1379–1471), whose *Imitatio Christi* has solaced more hearts than any other book but the Bible; it has passed through more than two thousand Latin editions alone.

From the beginning scholasticism found no place in the teachings of the brotherhood. "It is a great folly," says à Kempis,* "to neglect the things that are profitable and necessary, and to choose to dwell upon that which is curious and hurtful. We have eyes and we see not. . . . And what have we to do with *genera* and *species* (*Stichwœrter* of scholasticism)? He to whom the eternal Word speaketh is delivered from many an opinion."

This was the ideal, then, which guided the order, and so the Bible became to them the book of books. True, they cherished the classics and fostered their revival in Germany and the Netherlands; yet they never recognized anything but spirituality as "the ground of all mental culture and instruction," and though they admired pagan writers they did not become pagan themselves. The work they did was great, and the influence of their piety the best support for a new movement. But when the *renaissance* of Church and learning had been accomplished their work was done. In 1574 the last rector of the brotherhood was installed.

It will now be well to consider another movement which at the same time was beginning to exert a mighty influence on the educational matters of the north—an influence that in its current was deeper than the activity displayed by the "brotherhood of common life." We refer to the great revival of classical studies in Italy.† For a hundred and fifty years now, Italian scholars had found their greatest pleasure and delight in bringing to light once more the genial learning of the ancients, and so well and enthusiastically had this been done that it seemed as if the golden age was about to dawn again for

* Chapter III, First Book of the *Imitatio*.

† See Geiger, *op. cit.*

Latium. Great names crowded fast upon the escutcheon of the new learning—Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch—then a score of great teachers and scholars who made a religion out of their devotion to humanistic studies, and finally a galaxy of artists —Angelico da Fiesole, Leonardo da Vinci, Francesco Francia, Michael Angelo, Perugino, and Raphael—such as no other century will ever see again. The stream gradually became a torrent. All classes of society were swept by it, ecclesiastics and laymen, popes and princes, rich and poor. However, religion pure and undefiled played but little part in the movement. Jokes were cracked at the sacraments and doctrines of the Church, and men laughed. Macchiavelli wrote a comedy in which a priest philosophized most scandalously over married life, and it was regarded as a delicious bit of humor, applauded even by his holiness, "who had studied Plautus and Terence so well, and who was equally acquainted with the hearts of women and the dialectics of the Church." If anybody chided or warned, his fate was the fate of Arnold von Brescia. Savonarola, and Giordano Bruno. Humanism choked reformation in Italy; in Germany reformation was humanism's crowning work.

Humanism overspread Germany from without. Nevertheless, it was a German invention that paved the way for it. In 1437 Gutenberg invented printing, and in ten years the new art accomplished more for the dissemination of knowledge than had been done in a hundred years of manuscript copying. In some respects the conditions were stubborn. The German emperors were mostly indifferent, and the Church was still bound Laocoön-like in the traditions of scholasticism. Ennea Silvio, an emperor's prime minister and the first apostle of humanism on German soil, embittered and disheartened by the prevailing unconcern of the princes of the land for poetry and culture, exclaimed, "If they care more for dogs and horses than for poets, let them die unremembered like dogs and horses." But Italy was an inspiration land, and the propaganda was spreading. Germans began to go over the Alps, drawn by rumors of what was being done there, and to study under Italian masters. In the year 1482 young John Reuchlin entered the lecture room of Argyropulus in Rome and

shamefacedly made known his desire to receive Greek instruction, remarking as recommendation for himself that he was not wholly unacquainted with the Greek language. The master handed him a copy of Thucydides, which he read and translated so well that the old scholar cried out in raptures, "At last bereaved and exiled Greece has found a home beyond the Alps." And it was true. German universities were making place for classical training; Church Latin was being supplanted by classic Latin, and Greek was being taught in Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Ingolstadt. At Schlettstadt, in Alsace, also, there had been formed a school that took a prominent part in encouraging humanistic studies, and Jacob Wimpheling (1450–1528), its greatest pupil, was counted a celebrated master of his day. The Netherlands kept constantly contributing great spirits to the movement; Wessel (1419–1489), whom Luther regarded as a man after his own heart, Rudolf Lang (1488–1519), Rudolf Agricola (1443–1485)—the most learned man north of the Alps, to quote Erasmus—and Alexander Hegius (1420–1498), teacher of Erasmus, were some of the pioneers who came from the *fratres communis vitæ* into the German land.

The movement grew. Literary *vereins* were organized, nominally in alliance with some university, but gradually extending their influence into every city and region. Chief among these were the Rhine and Danube societies, the *Rhenana* and *Danubina*. The *Danubina* rejoiced in imperial favor, and enrolled three celebrities among its members—George Tannstetter (1482–1535), a scholar and mathematician, John Cuckenberger, an able writer of Latin verses and president of the society from 1499 to 1508, and John Spiessheimer (1473–1529), the orator. The Rhine society had Heidelberg for its center. It drew its membership, however, from all over southwestern Germany, and enjoyed the patronage of Count Philip of the Palatinate. Among the great names connected with the work of this society, that of John Reuchlin (1455–1522) stands at the head. Indeed, in some respects he did more for the cause of humanism than any other man in Germany. Born at the beginning of the movement, he lived to see humanism firmly established and its work trans-

formed into the Reformation. He was himself, too, of the type of reformers, for he and his followers directed their efforts at purging the Church of immorality and freeing learning from the blight of scholasticism. The old fogies shrieked, and priests and ecclesiastics became enraged. The Dominicans in the University of Cologne, with Hochstraten, the great heretic hunter, at their head, and Eck, the disputer of Ingolstadt, "trumpeted forth that religion and morals were in danger, and that humanism threatened to overthrow all that was sacred and revered."

And now began a struggle that marks humanism's greatest achievement in the work of its final establishment, a conflict that ended in the complete triumph of learning and the beginning of the Reformation. Between the years 1507 and 1509 Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, published a series of antisemitic writings in which he urged with the fanaticism of a bigot the destruction of all Jewish literature, with the exception of the Old Testament, and called for a general persecution of his race.* Supported by the Dominicans, he asked the emperor to issue a mandate confiscating Jewish books. The matter was finally referred to the Archbishop of Mayence, and Reuchlin among others was called upon to render an opinion. This he did in favor of the Jews, making a masterly plea for the preservation of their literature as worthy of the admiration and study of scholars. A polemical warfare broke out. Hochstraten summoned Reuchlin before his court of inquisition; the latter appealed to Rome and asked that the Bishop of Spires decide the affair. On March 29, 1514, Reuchlin won his case before the bishop. Now Hochstraten himself went to Rome and for two years angled for the pope's verdict. A commission decided against him, whereupon a papal *mandatum de supersedendo* was issued under pressure to stay proceedings. The monks thought this was gaining their point, and their hostility became even more pronounced. But help came from every quarter. The emperor and kings, scholars and laymen rallied to Reuchlin's support. A Reuchlin league was formed having for its watchword the promo-

* For the difficulty between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn see Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 500, *et seq.*; Binder, *Briefe von Dunkelmännern, Einleitung.*

tion of classical learning, a pure Church, and overthrow of monkish scholasticism which has long since passed into its second childhood. All was now ready to deal the Dominican order the heaviest blow they ever received, and it came in the wholly unexpected appearance of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, "Letters of Obscure Men," the most consummate and terrible satire yet published in Germany or any land. It was a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, blasting Reuchlin's enemies and sealing their doom forever.

The letters appeared anonymously in two parts, in 1514 and 1517, and purported to have been printed in Venice and Basel. They were written ostensibly by the followers of the Dominicans, and were addressed to one Ortuin Gratius (1491–1545), professor of theology at Cologne, a man of some erudition and classical culture, but who chose, as Geiger says, to be a great light among the opposers of the humanists rather than be a small light among the humanists themselves. The spirit running through the letters is cleverly true to life. The names of the various writers are comically significant, as Langschneiderius, Eitelmarrabianus, and Dollkopfius. Gratius is esteemed by them as the learned master of all liberal arts, poet *par excellence*, jurist, theologian, and physician. When they address him they are almost oriental in the fulsomeness of their salutations:

> "As many as drops are in the sea,
> As many as cowls in Cologne be,
> As many as hairs on an ass's hide,
> So many greetings and more beside,"

they say to him.* They are also full of simplicity—not the holiest simplicity either—in their attitude toward the new movement. In a most corrupt Latin, which in itself is a telling take-off on the old school, they announce their adherence to the learning of Paris and Cologne, and boast of their many university degrees. Their antiquated text-books are all in all to them; they look with proud disdain upon "the new-fangled poets and scholars who do homage to fine style, and

* Epistola 31:

> "*Quot in mari sunt gutte, et quot in Colonia sancta begutte,*
> *Quot pilos habent asinorum cutes, tot et plures tibi mitto salutes.*"

with fury upon the friends of antiquity who reverence the heathen gods." And they rail at Reuchlin and his followers, and curse their humanistic writings with zealous blasphemy. They think themselves real priests because they read mass and talk with an ecclesiastical twang; and in their self-esteem they prate, and strut, and detail with disgusting fidelity their *Liebesabenteuer*, and hope for Gratius's favor because he is a devoted admirer of John Pfefferkorn's wife.

In the first letter Baccalaureus Thomas Langschneider refers a different question to Gratius, his former master, for solution: "Since it is not without value, as Aristotle says, in certain cases to give way to doubt, and since in Ecclesiastes it is written, 'And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven,' so I, therefore, have purposed to bring to your grace a question concerning which I am in doubt." Not long before, at a banquet where doctors, licentiates, masters, had become exceedingly jolly over courses of chicken, pheasant, and fish, washed down by copious draughts of Malvasier and Rhine wine, Eimbecker, Torgauer, and Newburger beer, a discussion arose as to whether a *magister noster* who was about to take a degree in theology should be called *magister nostrandus* or *noster magistrandus*. Magister Warmbread, a clever Scotist who had taken his degree after failing three times, took up the latter view. He declared that *magistrare* was a verb meaning *magistrum facere*—to make a master of—and consequently gave rise to the form *magistrandus;* on the other hand, *nostro, nostrare*, was not a verb and not in the dictionary. Thereupon Magister Delitsch, a keen scholar in all the liberal arts, and physician, jurist, and poet in the bargain, espoused the other side. It all depended whether *noster* came after or before the word *magister;* for the one form meant a doctor of theology, the other implied a master of all or none of the liberal arts, and therefore *magister nostrandus* was correct. As to the point that there was no such verb as *nostrare*, that did not matter. Did not Horace in *Ars Poetica* give one the privilege of making new words? This, then, is the weighty question propounded to worthy Magister Ortuin Gratius, along with the incidental request that he write back how the

struggle with Doctor Reuchlin progresses, who, Langschneider has heard, will not back down, the scoundrel!

At first the *Epistolæ* deceived the monks themselves, and many were obtuse enough to think that no such learned and favorable exposition of their side of the case had before been written; but gradually it dawned upon them that, instead of being a gentle bit of *persiflage* to their credit, it was a whip of scorpions lashing them to their undoing. Reuchlin's quarrel with the Dominicans was over. In 1519 they paid him in hard cash for all damages, and the strife which had been carried on so violently and acrimoniously stopped. Humanism came out of the encounter more firmly intrenched than ever, but the structure of the Church was tottering. The conflict was shifting to Wittenberg. "Praised be God," said Reuchlin, "the monks will now have so much to do that they will be forced to leave an old man to his repose."

Among those who celebrated Reuchlin's triumph in verse and prose the two most remarkable were Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536), and Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). Erasmus was beyond doubt the most scholarly of all the humanists—some have even called him the greatest man of letters since the fall of Rome. He was the last contribution of the Netherlands to the revival period, but in his life and labors he belonged to learning in every land. He desired to pose as a cosmopolite, and so made use of no language but Latin, which was his only living tongue. He was an indefatigable worker in humanistic studies, but his proper place in humanism is hard to define. Some have put him halfway between the Latin humanists and the followers of Greek culture; others have regarded him as a classical theologian of the Church. But one thing is sure—he did not belong among those who fought with tooth and nail to give humanism a lodgment in Germany, though he was the greatest of humanists; nor did he champion the Reformation, when it got beyond ridiculing the depravity of the Church. He was simply a *savant* without courage, no more a follower of any party than he was a citizen of any land. He was a man by himself, unique in the part he played; and, content to be lauded as the greatest scholar of his day, he was unwilling—more than that, afraid

—to bring his intellect to fight for a cause that made his greatness possible. Not so with Hutten, who was a knight fearless, ready for battle. He, too, loved learning, and pursued it, and fought for it. Wherever blows could be struck for God, or home, or native land, he was in the combat, often penniless and without patronage, but wielding a terrible influence. He it was who inspired the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* and defended Reuchlin in the hour of need. Erasmus, like a man who nonchalantly watches some swimmer battling for his life, wrote an apotheosis for him only when it was certain he had won. Hutten gave his whole soul to Germany—to its land and language, to humanism and the Reformation. He was not so cultured as Erasmus, not so esteemed abroad or fawned upon at home; but he fought when fighting was needed more than encomiums. Whatever the verdict of the library, mankind clings to the man in armor.

There is little need to continue the subject farther. Humanism was at last a settled fact in middle Europe, and men's attention was shifting to Luther,

> Die wittembergisch nachtigall
> Die man iezt hoeret ueberall.

The Reformation was a worthy outcome of the spirit of the new learning, and its greatest heritage to the world.

R. Clyde Ford

Art. V.—THE VALUE OF BROWNING'S INTERPRETATION OF EURIPIDES.

In most cases the translation of a poet by a poet, however admirable it may be as a piece of literature, loses something of the spirit and intention of the original, and becomes correspondingly impregnated with the temper of the translator. This may be—indeed, appears to be—inevitable in the nature of things, and perhaps accounts for the fact that nearly all versified translations are failures, at least in so far as they aim to give the real essence of a classical work to English readers. Yet now and then a poet seems to enter fully into the conception of another; and, if he be of generous mind, of thorough scholarship, and conscientious in dealing with that which is not strictly his, the product is of the greatest value.

The English versions of two dramas of Euripides, by Robert Browning, belonging as they do to no existing category of poetic translations, challenge most thoughtful and earnest consideration. In estimating the value of such work to the general reader there are two main points to be regarded—the intrinsic worth of the original and the success of the attempt at representation as a translation and interpretation. The distinctions between ancient and modern tragedy are many and radical. The idea of Nemesis, or retributive justice, is fundamental in the tragic drama of the Greeks, to whom dramatic presentation was one chief vehicle for the conveying of religious teaching. No such moral conception belongs to the mass of modern tragedy. Euripides comes nearer than any other of the ancients to the modern manner in presenting the problems of life without offering a solution of them. Yet even he does not wholly eliminate Nemesis. The element of surprise seems to be regarded as essential in modern dramas; in the Greek the plot was fully known to the spectators from the outset, and thus, oftentimes, as in the "Œdipus Tyrannus," the effect of tragic irony greatly heightened. The depiction of destiny, rather than of character, was in general the aim of classic tragic poets, an aim which is entirely wanting in our own times. Artistic simplicity was the characteristic of the ancient

dramas; subtlety and complexity are the sources of power in the modern. Yet it would not be wise to claim that in these differences the advantage is all on the side of the modern. To hold that all nations in all ages should adopt and maintain the same standards would be absurd. But a form and method—literary, dramatic, or ethical—which has once been of high service must always possess a certain value.

Euripides, from his own time to the present, has always been more or less underestimated. It was the fashion among his contemporaries to compare him with Æschylus and Sophocles. The same fashion prevails to-day, and, as a result of the detraction which, without just cause, almost invariably accompanies comparison, the glory of Euripides has become somewhat undeservedly dimmed. The dissimilarities between the genius and art of the two older dramatists and those of Euripides are of two kinds—those which are natural and inherent in the individual endowments of the men, and those which are due to the conditions under which they lived and wrote. Æschylus, the man of Marathon and Salamis, was a poet militant. In the Titanic grandeur of his dramas, dealing with gods and heroes and mighty elemental forces, is the expression of his own strong, warlike nature. He saw chaos and law at strife—august forms in the power of what seemed a relentless fate—and, penetrating as far as human vision might, he strove to reach the hidden sources of final harmony, finding the solution of the problem in the inevitable Nemesis. For Sophocles it was left to perfect the dramatic form which Æschylus created. His Œdipus group is the perfect flower of classic drama. In development of plot, in delineation of character and emotion, in harmonious symmetry and repose Sophocles reached the culminating point of his art. To him moral law is important in its relation to character, more than to destiny, and he makes the resentment and vengeance of offended powers less prominent than the effect of sin upon the sinner. In his fine analysis of human nature he finds his solution of the conflicts of life and the revelation of the eternal laws of justice and purity. His alterations in dramatic form would be irrelevant to discuss here. They were all in the way of improvement, and Euripides was to reap the benefit of them.

The peculiar genius of Euripides was of a distinct type. His strength lay in depicting human passions, rather than in analysis of character, or the setting forth of moral or divine law. And his poetic gift, fortunately for his success, was one eminently adaptable to the demands of the times. He has been accused of skepticism and irreverence; but it must be remembered that he wrote at a period when the spirit of skeptical thought was becoming prevalent, when the old unquestioning faith in gods and heroes was no longer what it had been, and when the Sophists with their brilliant plausibility in argument were turning the heads of a large portion of the Athenians, especially those of the younger generation. A Sophocles could stand against these tendencies, but the religious element of Greek thought so successfully embodied in the dramas of the older tragedians gave place in Euripides to the more romantic and purely human character, which then appealed most strongly to the sympathies of the Athenian public. Yet, while the lofty ideality and heroic dignity of Æschylus and Sophocles are wanting in these plays, while the sacred character of the myths is sometimes lost in the effort to bring tragedy nearer the level of everyday life and make it more real to the spectators, they are pure and elevated in sentiment, and the opportunity is not lost of bringing home to the people many practical lessons of virtue and morality. Though Euripides did not seek to interpret the workings of supreme providence, he at least presented a field from which much of sterling worth could be gathered. And in this he is the best counterpart to Shakespeare that ancient literature can offer.

When Robert Browning addressed himself to the task of rendering the "Alcestis"* and the "Heracles" of Euripides into English he undertook a much greater work than the mere translation of the Greek. His "transcripts" are a defense of Euripides. By the power of his own rare insight he was able to understand the Greek poet as perhaps no other has done, and to recognize in him that one of all the ancients who in the broadest sense comprehended the facts of human

* Except in quotations the author has not adopted Browning's literal spelling of Greek names.

life. Not only did he feel his strength, his pathos, and lyric beauty, but that he appreciated that which is greatest in Euripides is shown by the motto adopted for "Balaustion's Adventure" from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "Wine of Cyprus:"

> Our Euripides, the human,
> With his droppings of warm tears,
> And his touches of things common
> Till they rose to touch the spheres.

The poem "Balaustion's Adventure" furnishes a setting for the "Alcestis" which serves two purposes—that of making the drama more easily comprehensible to the English reader who is not a classical scholar, and the other that of affording Browning an opportunity of setting forth, along with his version of Euripides, his own comment upon it.

The narrative portion of the poem is based upon a story from Plutarch of some Grecian captives in Sicily, at the time of the siege of Syracuse, who won release and protection by reciting some verses from Euripides. In Browning's poem Balaustion, the "lyric girl" from Rhodes, relates to four girl friends the story of her adventure at Syracuse—how she and her companions upon the ship of Cannus, pursued by pirates, had been driven into the harbor of Syracuse; how they had been at first repulsed, but were finally saved in return for her reciting, upon the temple steps, the "Alcestis," then a new play. Having told the story, she repeats in the words of Euripides the play itself, adding only what comments are necessary to make clear the impression upon her hearers.

It is sufficiently obvious that this portion of the poem, beautiful as it is and instinct with vitality, is intended only as a setting to the "Alcestis," the interpretation of which is its real object and occasion. With such an aim the poet, if conscientious and scholarly, would allow himself no liberties with the text. And here Browning has shown himself the faithful translator as well as the poetic interpreter. As a translation the "transcript" is remarkable for accuracy and strict fidelity to the original. Browning's classical scholarship is evident throughout, not only in the literalness—in the ordinary sense—of his version, but in the retaining with wonderful exactness the root meanings of words. Yet, so far is

this literality from making the translation mechanical and lifeless that it adds force, picturesqueness, and vitality to the work. The temptation to embellish by lending thoughts and expressions of his own Browning has steadfastly resisted, not an idea being interpolated into the text. Whatever has been added, though interwoven with the drama, is put into the mouth of Balaustion speaking *in propriâ personâ*, not into the lines of Euripides. These comments and explanations are often of the greatest value in illuminating the original and in bringing out some of the finest effects of the drama, but they are always kept distinct. A very few short passages of the Greek are indeed omitted, or only briefly indicated, the chief instance of this being the condensation of the two speeches of Eumelus into three lines of narrative. These abridgments are the only deviations from the canon of translation laid down by Browning himself in one of his prefaces, which is "to be literal at every cost save that of absolute violence to our language." But, what is equally important, he seems to have caught the very spirit of the original, and that the warm humanity and delicate conceptions of Euripides are vitally present in the "transcript." The defense of the Greek poet is most subtly and powerfully made, not by advocacy, but by interpretation.

"Alcestis" is not indeed a typical Greek tragedy, though it is undoubtedly a representative Euripidean composition. It is quite distinct both from the normal tragedy of the Great Age and from the satyric drama. Some explanation of its distinctive character may be found in the position which it was intended to occupy as the fourth play in a tetralogy. In such a group the fourth piece was generally a satyr play. The wholly different nature of "Alcestis" is evidence that the dramatist was not limited by prescription to this form of composition. The function of such an afterpiece seems to have been to calm the minds of an audience excited by the profound emotions which the preceding tragedies awakened. The satyr dramas were usually coarse. The "Alcestis," not essentially tragic in either subject or treatment, yet still further removed from comic shallowness, appears a perfect work for its place.

The lack of painful catastrophe, generally considered indispensable to a true tragedy, does not take away from the tragic

character of the piece in its deeper sense. The joy at the end of "Alcestis" is as profound and solemn as the grief and despair which preceded it. The *κάθαρσις*, or "purification," which is the end aimed at in Greek tragedy must be reached through suffering, but it may be consummated in joy as truly as in sorrow. Other divergences from the ideal tragedy are deeper and more significant. The Nemesis, or retributive justice, checking presumption, overthrowing excessive good fortune, punishing with the absolute certainty of fate all transgression —whether voluntary sin, unselfish rashness like the offense of Prometheus, unconscious crime such as that of Œdipus, or the conscientious disobedience of Antigone—this Nemesis, implacable, but always making for righteousness, which is the fundamental and dominant idea of the loftiest form of Greek tragedy, in "Alcestis," as in other plays of Euripides, is obscured and thrown into the background. As regards form and manner the "Alcestis" illustrates most of the innovations, the faults, and the merits for which Euripides is distinguished. His peculiar use of the prologue, the clearly defined plot, the skillful and artistic management of the chorus—refuting, at least in this play, the charge of irrelevancy in its employment so often made against him—are all exampled here. Even of his impiety and skepticism, so called, there are traces, though open expressions of doubt bordering on blasphemy, such as occur frequently in other plays, are rare in "Alcestis."

But it is in the *dramatis personæ* of this play that Euripides exhibits his supreme power, and in his realization of these Browning achieves his highest success as interpreter. Two figures stand out luminously as giving character to the drama, Alcestis and Heracles. Alcestis is one of the most exquisite creations of classic literature. This character alone should suffice to refute the charge of misogynism which has been brought against Euripides, first of all, we believe, by his contemporary Aristophanes. Her self-devotion is as noble as that of Antigone, and at the same time there is a womanly warmth and tenderness in her which appeals more strongly to the sympathies of many than the severer qualities of Sophocles's incomparable heroine. Her womanliness and self-sacrifice are brought by Browning into the same bright relief in the English as in

the Greek, without comment because no comment is needed. But here and there a delicate bit of analysis and exposition is made to throw light upon an artistic intention which, without it, might easily be lost or misapprehended. The character of Admetus, the husband of Alcestis, in whose stead she dies, is thus shown to be, though selfish,

> Nowise insincere,
> But somehow childlike, like his children, like
> Childishness the world over.

And Pheres, the father, becomes not only a foil to the heroism of Alcestis, but has a distinct moral function also, as one in whom Admetus

> Saw just himself when years should do their work
> And reinforce the selfishness inside.

A subtle interpretation of Admetus's angry upbraiding of his father is given by our English poet:

> You see what all this poor pretentious talk
> Tried at—how weakness strove to hide itself
> In bluster against weakness—the loud word
> To hide the little whisper, not so low
> Already in that heart beneath those lips!

The idea of Euripides in the whole contention, which is one of those rhetorical discussions often counted among the faults of this poet, appears to be revealed in the lines:

> So, the old selfish Pheres went his way,
> Case-hardened as he came; and left the youth
> (Only half-selfish now, since sensitive)
> To go on learning by a light the more.

It is a remarkable proof of the translator's success in presenting the characters of the "Alcestis" to English readers that their humanity is so living and real as to touch the hearts of men to-day and to save them from collapse even in situations to the modern mind verging upon the ridiculous. Than this, scarcely any task could be more difficult.

The one radiant, central personality of the drama, the soundest, most suggestive, is that of Heracles. And in Browning's interpretation of this character is the most splendid product of his art in translation. This hero is rare in Greek dramatic literature, occurring only once in Sophocles, three times in Euripides. Yet the Heracles myth was one of the most vital

as his character was one of the most real, to the ancients. Doubtless it was the presentation of this hero by Euripides which inspired Browning to the translation of these two plays, such a conception being one that would lay strongest hold upon his imagination. The appearance of Heracles in the home of Admetus, at the time of mourning and in the midst of the funeral solemnities, sends a ray of hopefulness into the gloom. The frank directness of his address sounds a note of cheer. Having accomplished seven of the mighty labors of his life, on his way to the land of the Bistones to capture the man-eating steeds of Diomedes, he stops, weary and glad, to gladden the home of a friend. His cheerfulness, even joviality, in the midst of mourning, his slowness to understand that it is Alcestis who is dead, at first seem singular and give rise to the question whether we have not here one of the devices of Euripides, and whether this apparent stupidity is not merely for the dramatist's purpose of effect. But Browning at least suggests, though indirectly, another thought. And when Heracles becomes really aware of the true state of things in Admetus's household, through the servant who, knowing not the hero, complains of the heartlessness of the guest, his is no mere sentimental condolence, but that active sympathy which seeks some means of making amends for his ill-timed mirth by rendering his friend a service beyond speech. Leaving his feasting, forth the great-hearted hero strides to engage in the awful fight with Death and rescue the devoted Alcestis. Returning from the struggle, somewhat worn and grave, perhaps, with the stress of such a conflict, but triumphant and bringing with him the reward of his triumph—a reward which is not for himself but for his friend to enjoy—he at first reproaches Admetus for not giving him his confidence at the outset. Then, having tested the sincerity and fidelity of the widowed husband, finding selfishness giving place to something higher—the work of *κάθαρσις* well begun—he restores to him his very wife, rescued by a supreme effort from Death. After this *dénouement* but one impression is made upon the mind of the spectator or reader, that of the god-man who, waiting for none of the expressions of gratitude which would naturally pour forth so profusely from the lips

of a man like Admetus, fares cheerily forth again on his brave adventures. For the labors of his life were as yet scarcely more than half accomplished, and this was after all but an episode in the life of the hero. The forcible, vigorous portrayal of such a character as Heracles vindicates Euripides and his work sufficiently for all time.

This superb conception Browning grasps and sets forth with all the power of his genius. When he employs the language of Euripides he lets it lose nothing of that frank, free, wholesome vitality which distinguishes it. As an instance of this take Heracles's words to the chorus, beginning, *Καὶ τόνδε τουμοῦ δαίμονος πόνον λέγεις*, which Browning translates:

> Why, just the labor, just the lot for me
> Dost thou describe in what I recognize!
> Since hard and harder, high and higher yet,
> Truly this lot of mine is like to go
> If I must needs join battle with the brood
> Of Ares: ay, I fought Lukaon first,
> And again, Kuknos; now engage in strife
> This third time, with such horses and such lord.
> But there is nobody shall ever see
> Alkmenê's son shrink foeman's hand before!

And the passages of comment and description no less show how completely he enters into Euripides's conception of the god-man. A few phrases illustrating this have already been quoted. Instance also the following bit of virile characterization, true to the Greek idea of Heracles:

> Herakles
> Had flung into the presence, frank and free,
> Out of the labor into the repose,
> Ere out again and over head and ears
> I' the heart of labor, all for love of men:
> Making the most o' the minute, that the soul
> And body, strained to height a minute since,
> Might lie relaxed in joy, this breathing-space,
> For man's sake more than ever; . . .
> He slew the pest o' the marish yesterday:
> To-morrow he would bit the flame-breathed stud
> That fed on man's flesh: and this day between—
> Because he held it natural to die,
> And fruitless to lament a thing past cure,
> So, took his fill of food, wine, song, and flowers,
> Till the new labor claimed him soon enough.

And perhaps finest of all is the picture of Heracles's departure to the conflict with Death. The words are Browning's, but the spirit we can easily believe equally that of Euripides:

> So, one look upward, as if Zeus might laugh
> Approval of his human progeny—
> One summons of the whole magnific frame,
> Each sinew to its service—up he caught,
> And over shoulder cast, the lion-shag,
> Let the club go—for had he not those hands?
> And so went striding off, on that straight way
> Leads to Larissa and the suburb tomb.
> Gladness be with thee, Helper of our world!
> I think this is the authentic sign and seal
> Of Godship, that it ever waxes glad,
> And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts
> Into a rage to suffer for mankind,
> And recommence at sorrow: drops like seed
> After the blossom, ultimate of all.
> Say, does the seed scorn earth and seek the sun?
> Surely it has no other end and aim
> Than to drop, once more die into the ground,
> Taste cold and darkness and oblivion there:
> And thence rise, treelike grow through pain to joy,
> More joy and most joy—do man good again.
> So, to the struggle off strode Herakles.

The "Heracles Mainomenos," or "Heracles Mad," of which Browning gives us a complete translation in "Aristophanes' Apology," called also "The Last Adventure of Balaustion," is a work wholly different in scope and manner from the "Alcestis," yet is no less markedly Euripidean. It is essentially tragic in plot. The character drawing is in the main less luminous and compelling than in the former play, although the delineation of Megara, the hero's wife, is one of great beauty, and a certain homely naturalness in the old man, Amphitryon, appeals strongly to our human interest. The figure of Heracles alone stands out boldly in this drama.

The reason for Euripides's selection of Heracles as his central figure, as well as for Browning's choice of these two dramas for translation, appears to lie in the intense humanity of the hero as here conceived. This national hero of Greece is a type of the normal man. His constitution is profoundly human, full of relish in life, of good-fellowship and sympathy,

made sound and wholesome by a generous, open mind and strong courage. Something also of the divine inheres in him as his inheritance from his father Zeus. His experience is that of the ideal man. He must find the consummation of life through obedience, labor, and suffering. Like man, he falls. But as a type he rises superior to self and evil, gains the final victory, and attains that *σωφροσύνη* which is the perfection of human character. Thus he is fitted to become the hero and champion of a race struggling upward in its spiritual consciousness toward the realization of the ideal, the perfect *σωφροσύνη*. In the "Heracles Mad" Euripides paints for us the lapse of the hero and his victory over the deadliest of all temptations, that to disconragement and acceptance of defeat. In a fit of frenzy Heracles, just returned in triumph from the successful accomplishment of his final and most difficult labor, slays his wife and sons. Awakening to consciousness and the knowledge of his crime, he is stricken with grief and despair. Bitterest doubt of the gods, of Zeus himself, overwhelms him. With such a personality in the stress of such a crisis Browning would feel the most vital sympathy; for it is he who has seen with wonderfully illuminated vision the truth that failure here is "but a triumph's evidence," he who "held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake."

The madness of Heracles and his awakening call to mind a certain correspondence between this drama and the "Ajax" of Sophocles. But the ethical significance of Heracles's madness, inflicted upon him by a malign supernatural power, presents a striking contrast to that of Ajax, which was a divinely imposed punishment for his self-sufficiency. And the issues are widely different. Ajax is defeated, and flies disgrace through the door of death. Heracles, grand, large-hearted hero, with giant soul capable of profoundest sorrow as of supreme effort, rises victor over despair and resumes life and its labors.

It is the spiritual significance of the Heracles myth, as Browning treats it, in which the moral value of these two dramas of Euripides mainly consists. The first presents the hero, in the full tide of life's activity, conquering Death for his friend. In the second we find him, after a long series of noble exploits,

under the far greater stress of vanquishing doubt and temptation, with his own soul's life in mortal peril.

"Aristophanes' Apology," including Browning's translation of the "Heracles," was published four years later than "Balaustion's Adventure." This work also gives the drama a narrative setting; and again the narrator is Balaustion, who resumes the story of her life and relates her "last adventure," which took place in Athens a year before the overthrow of the city by Sparta and its allies. On the ship returning from dismantled Athens to her native Rhodes, with her husband, Euthucles, she rehearses again this "second supreme adventure," that Euthucles may write it out and so it may be preserved. The story is an account of a visit made by the comic poet Aristophanes at the home of Balaustion and Euthucles, on the evening of the day when the news of Euripides's death reached Athens. Obeying an impulse of mingled seriousness and mockery Aristophanes with a band of revelers bursts into the "house friendly to Euripides" on his return from the theater. The first and original half of the poem is taken up with the conversation between Aristophanes and Balaustion, in which the comic poet is represented as defending his own dramatic art and method against those of Euripides. It is a mass of learning, and so crowded with allusion and dissertation as almost to exclude poetry. It would be of interest to the classical antiquarian, but scarcely to the average reader. Upon the present paper it has no bearing, nor has the old controversy between Aristophanes and Euripides, which is here so learnedly and cleverly handled. The second half of the poem is the "Heracles," inserted in its entirety and without commentary, as the best defense of its author. The translation is characterized by the same fidelity to the original, the same accuracy, charm, and vigor exhibited in the transcript of "Alcestis." If it is less read this is due to the inherent differences in the two dramas. The lighter and pleasanter play is sure to be the more popular. From the former work of Browning this differs in two chief particulars—the consecutive, uninterrupted presentation of the tragedy and the employment of varied lyric meters in the choral odes.

Of the intrinsic value of these two tragedies of Euripides

the earnest and impartial student, though not a Grecian, can have little doubt. In their humanity, their pathos, and their poetic radiance, they possess a charm which is imperishable. True, as the ancients were fond of saying, Euripides was not Æschylus or Sophocles. But neither were they Euripides. Each had his place and his work. At a time when the tendency is away from Greek learning, and the masterpieces of classic literature are with each generation less read, a faithful, sympathetic, and accurate translation of a great classic poet, infused with the life and warmth so often wanting in our English versions of the classics, is a boon of no small value. Browning, supreme poet of humanity in our time, as Euripides was in his, applied his transcendent genius to the production of such a work. How close and conscientious his adherence to the original was only the painstaking classical scholar can justly appreciate. How complete and sympathetic his interpretation, how he revivifies and reveals and illuminates the ancient poet, none but the lover of Greek poetry and of Euripides can know. But the beauty and the moral grandeur of these dramas all may feel. Their poetic charm, full of freshness and noble sweetness; the pure ideals of human love and sacrifice; the conception of the hero helping the world, of humanity, the offspring of God, making its way upward through conflict, doubt, and failure—all these are set before us with irresistible power. Creative production is indeed the poet's highest work. But in thus linking the poetry of a long-past golden age with our own Browning has enriched our literature and done inestimable service.

Mary S. Daniels

Art. VI.—THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE AND THEISM.

The publication within a few months of one another of three systematic works in English on theory of knowledge * is a phenomenon that should interest the theological, as well as the philosophical, world. It is a sign and a product of a drift in philosophy that cannot fail to have, sooner or later, a profound effect upon some of the foundations of theological thought. For some years, indeed, it has been evident that the task of theology goes deeper than used to be supposed. Through the negative influence of a group of theories and tendencies that may be designated as agnosticism, empiricism, positivism, and scientific method the center of fundamental theological interest has been shifted from the substance or content of faith to the nature of knowledge and the bases of certitude in general. Herein theology and philosophy have trodden parallel or rather identical paths; for, during these same years, the vital question for philosophers has been whether metaphysics, or knowledge of the real as distinguished from mere phenomena, is at all possible. Yet, strangely enough, since Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, no systematic work on epistemology appeared in English until last year. There had been, to be sure, several treatises on advanced logic, besides many articles, chapters, and some entire books on special problems; the fermentation was extensive and active, but only now has it resulted in putting within the reach of the English-reading public any such connected treatises as the Germans have possessed for some years.

That this slow crystallization of thought is not without its advantages, however, is evident in a certain convergence or community of tendency in all the works just referred to. Their disagreements are profound, but not less so are the parallel currents that flow through them all. We propose to state what seem the most characteristic tendencies, not only of these three works, but also of the epistemological movement in general. It is necessary to premise, however, that these

* L. T. Hobhouse, *Theory of Knowledge*, 1896; Borden P. Bowne, *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, 1897; George Trumbull Ladd, *Philosophy of Knowledge*, 1897.

tendencies appear in different quarters in varying degrees, that no writer exhibits them all in the form or proportions here presented, and that possibly every one of them is contradicted by some writer or other. As the enumeration proceeds it will become increasingly plain how deeply theology is likely to become indebted to this latest phase of philosophy.

First, the trend of the philosophy of knowledge is distinctly away from the sweeping denials of radical agnosticism. Why and how will be shown presently. The reader is requested to notice the limitations in the above statement. The rejection of the more radical negations of agnosticism does not imply that this popular theory is totally false, and least of all does it bestow positive confirmation upon any belief. Since the refutation of an opponent does not establish one's own thesis, the disproof of agnosticism leaves the religious questions open instead of settled.

Second, the futility of mere speculation independent of observation and experiment becomes clearer and clearer. To-day it is almost an axiom that the scientific method, broadly understood as the antithesis of mere speculation, is the only fruitful method of investigation. Psychology has become a science of observation. Economics, ethics, history, the philosophy of religion—all begin their labor by painstaking observation of facts, and continue it by ever more profound analysis of the same. Knowledge is admitted to have an indispensable source and test in what is given as distinguished from what is merely thought out.

Third, the pure intellectualism of the last two centuries seems to be definitely rejected. By "pure intellectualism" we mean making the intellect the sole organ for the apprehension of truth and defining intellect in such a way as to exclude from it all influence from feeling or aspiration or will. Psychology has made it clear that there is no such thing in human nature. Not only do feelings and impulses mix themselves up with all intellectual states; they actually form an inseparable part of each of them. To think, however abstractly, is to execute an impulse or a volition of a particular kind, while to know the truth is, among other things, to feel sure of it. And not only do the impulse to know and the

"sentiment of rationality" * lie at the root of knowledge, but confession is now freely made that knowledge is only a part or factor in something greater and more compelling—life itself. A double truth is coming to recognition here: First, knowledge exists for life, and not life for knowledge, as any partial function exists for the whole of which it is a part; and, second, life as a whole is a source and test of knowledge. Of course, this has always been the assumption of practical life. Life laughs at theory as love laughs at obstacles; but for theoretical philosophy to insist upon the supremacy of our active impulses to the prejudice of its own traditional pretensions is noteworthy. This leads us to notice the direct bearing of this point upon religious thought.

Fourth, belief and faith as modes of life and attitudes toward reality never received from independent philosophy so unqualified recognition as now. Of course, philosophy will not surrender to faith, as it did with Jacobi, nor will it consent that the heart should build schemes of belief without regard to logic, science, history, and philosophy. Knowledge is determined more than ever to penetrate and take possession of every corner of the universe that can be reached by experience or valid inference, and it insists upon subjecting to rational tests every assertion of fact or truth. But, at the same time, realizing its own partial and tentative character and its dependence upon ideals, it openly makes room for all the other hopes and aspirations and impulses that reach toward the ideal. The dictates of the heart may reveal the deeper realities of the universe. All that is needful is to insist that declarations from this source be consistent with themselves and with whatever is certainly or probably known, and that no greater certainty be claimed for them than they actually have in the light of the ordinary tests of certainty.

Fifth, the realistic tone of much the larger part of work in this sphere is remarkable. Authors seem to vie with one another in emphasizing the assertion that the world of which knowledge takes possession is the real world, and not a world of

* William James, *Will to Believe*, p. 63, *ff*. This admirable volume might almost claim a place alongside the three works named at the beginning of this article, inasmuch as most of the essays of which it is composed focus themselves about a certain view of the relation of knowledge to life.

ideas beyond which there may or may not be any corresponding reality. Philosophy has long been plagued with the notion that in perception we first have a sensation and then "refer" it to an external world, and that in thinking we first get an idea or thought and then predicate it of reality. The newer view is that neither in perception nor in any other cognitive process is there any purely subjective side separable from the objectively real—which latter must be reached by some sort of leap or reference or intuition—but that the real is revealed in the process itself, at every step. To make this clear we need to notice two cardinal facts, namely, that knowledge is made up of judgments, and that every judgment means to point out something that exists in a system of reality, to point to what is, as distinguished from any mere seeming. It is impossible to say anything or to think anything without thinking and speaking of reality. It is perhaps not too much to say that the starting point for all future philosophical investigation will be, not the world of ideas that the philosopher finds in his head, but the total real world which is partly given in experience and is meant to be pointed out in every logical judgment. The *datum* for philosophy is the fact that we find ourselves experiencing a multitude of sensations, forming another multitude of judgments and inferences and systems of belief, hoping, praying, aspiring, sinning and being converted, obeying the unseen. All this grand total, as a total, is the *datum* for philosophy. The sciences take it up piecemeal, and their results must be accepted as true from their partial standpoints; but philosophy must ask for some sort of unity within this mass of detail. It must face the greatest of all phenomena, the fact of our consciousness of this mass of part phenomena. Of course, it can do no more than analyze what is given, but at every step of such analysis it is dealing with reality. Reality is such, for instance, as to provide for the universality of religion; in other words, religious experience is nothing purely subjective, it is a revelation of something in the system of reality.

Sixth, it becomes increasingly evident that the fact of knowledge carries with itself metaphysical conclusions of the highest importance. For, whatever else reality may be, it is something

that has or contains knowledge of itself. The more important inferences from this fact concern the real soul as subject of cognition and the unitary being which it is necessary to postulate as the ground of the system of reality. The latter of these two questions is, of course, that of the existence of God, and concerning it the claim may be confidently made that, within certain limits to be stated hereafter, the new criticism of knowledge is gradually but surely reinstating the existence of God as a truth capable of rational proof. Since Kant presented his refutation of the three traditional proofs for the existence of God no one of them has been able to command respect at all proportional to the religious sense of the importance of the subject. Though two of them, the cosmological and the design arguments, have been repeatedly reaffirmed by defenders of religion, this has been mostly in the way of defense. Neither of these arguments has had sufficient vigor to enable it to take the offensive in the intellectual world. As a result there has been a tendency on the part of theologians to abandon the attempt at proof, and to fall back on the instincts of the heart as a sufficient warrant for belief, while, naturally but illogically, many a scientific and philosophic intellect has taken the confessed weakness of the positive evidence as evidence against the thing itself. We have fallen upon a time when many a thinking man retains his religious profession only as the force of his moral character suppresses his doubts or at least forces him to blind obedience, blind because it is conscious of being unable to give satisfactory grounds for itself. To meet this strain there are not wanting teachers of religion who proclaim, substantially, that intellect is of minor importance in religion. But this is temporizing with the difficulty. We feel the half truth in the old dogmatism; we feel the half truth in this new sentimentalism; we are sure the skeptic is wrong; but where is the clear truth that shall reconcile these warring elements within us and between us? The writer believes that philosophy, consciously or otherwise, is making a magnificent contribution toward this end.

The same philosopher who did most to weaken traditional theistic arguments also gave a clew to a higher conception which is coming to supply the place of what he took away.

We do not refer to Kant's own moral argument, but to the most theoretical part of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, namely, the "transcendental deduction of the categories." Here it is shown that if the world is to be known at all it must in its totality constitute a single system. The grounds for this doctrine need not be stated here, inasmuch as our purpose is rather to draw a map than to explore any territory. The unity of all the knowable is a general expression of that which finds specific applications in the notions of natural law, the uniformity of nature, and the universality of causation. Its truth does not stop with its application to material nature; it includes as well us who think nature and, indeed, "all objects of all thought." Connecting this with what was said as to the realism of modern theories of knowledge, we come to the conclusion that in the process of cognition our minds grasp a real world which, beneath all its diversity, is fundamentally one. No isolated truth is ever anything more than a part or an aspect of that which is "the truth." Consequently, when the mind touches any truth it touches the whole circle of truth, and so the whole circle of reality also. Again, communication between finite minds is possible only on the condition that they have a common world, nay, that their very selves somehow meet and flow together. Knowing and the communication of knowledge then imply a real communion between the knowing mind and the unitary being which is at the base of all things and all persons. We use the term "communion" in its mystical sense; those who thus commune have something in common in the deepest possible sense. In this unitary being which cognition implies our own minds "live and move and have" their "being." We shall see presently wherein this truth comes short of pantheism; but first we must note that the unity of the real world implies its consciousness. There are several routes whereby, from the unity of the real, we may infer its consciousness. One is that taken by Augustine and, more recently, in part, by Professor Royce—to distinguish the true from what is not true implies absolute truth, while absolute truth implies absolute mind. Another route is that whereby it is shown that the category of unity receives its only concrete meaning from the unity of our own conscious-

ness. Only by analogy with the unity which we find within the multiplicity of our own states of consciousness can we understand what we mean by the real or concrete unity of anything. Other routes might be indicated all of which converge at the same point—the necessity, from the nature of our own intelligence, that there should be a universal intelligence. This thought with various modifications may be said to be so common as to be called prevalent among writers on theory of knowledge, and it has been used by Pfleiderer in his *Philosophy and Development of Religion* as the one satisfactory line of evidence for theism. It is of course an old thought wrought over new in the light of increasing knowledge.

The limitations of this theistic proof, of which we promised to speak, grow out of the close union which is maintained between this idealistic thought and the appeal to experience already mentioned as one of the almost universal characteristics of present-day philosophy. For if we ask after the character of the universal mind we find no answer in philosophy except such as grows out of analysis of the content of experience. There is thus absolutely no limit to the material that must be handled. The apologist of other days was supposed to need little capital beyond the idea of God and a few popular and inexact notions of nature. Above all, he was expected to be thoroughly trained in the syllogism, for his battle was one of dialectic. To-day formal logic is the least of the accouterments of the theologian. He must of course be logically consistent, yet he is worse than poor unless he has wealth of acquaintance with all that makes up human experience. For he undertakes in a word to read the meaning of human experience in its totality. Now, the admission of an empirical element of such sweep into theistic problems implies that the task of the theologian is the most difficult of all. The subject looms ever more and more imposing before the sober thinker, who now sinks into the position of learner instead of that of master. More specifically theistic theories have much the same trouble that they have always had with the problem of evil. The immanence of God even in the sinner and the apparent progress discovered in the course of evolution lend some color to hope, and may be suspected to be the foreshadowings

of the truth; but not more than this can be asserted. Within these limits, however, the theistic problem has been manifestly advanced by recent philosophy.

Does the unity of reality necessitate pantheism? There are those who answer this question in the affirmative, and thereby commit themselves to substantially the same excess of idealism that brought the systems of Fichte and Hegel into discredit. Undoubtedly the analysis of knowledge brings us to idealism in the sense of recognizing personal existence as the only real existence, and to monism in the sense of positing a single being who is somehow the immanent ground of all beings. But this monism can be better interpreted in terms of an organism, that is, a single being containing relatively independent members, than in terms of pantheism. Indeed, in the nature of the case how could I identify myself with the absolute mind? My acts of knowing, just because they are my assertion, both affirm for me a place in the system of reality and also confess my subordination to tests contained in a wider reality. Knowledge cannot, indeed, be understood as anything short of reality taking hold of itself, but a partial grasp must indicate partial reality. One aspect of this truth has been especially well wrought out by Professor Bowne. He emphasizes the fact that alongside the problem of knowledge lies that of error. Our errors are as much facts as our knowledge, and must be provided for in the system of the real. Now, if our minds are nothing but aspects of the absolute mind, all our errors are transferred to the latter and truth is put on a level with error. The distinction between truth and error would thus lose its entire significance. To escape this we must suppose that at the center of things all is light, though at the circumference there is some darkness. All the error must be attributed to a difference or real distinction in being between the infinite mind and our minds. Though the One is immanent in us, our errors are ours in a sense in which they do not belong to the infinite, and accordingly we are realities other than, though dependent on, this One. In short, the problem of error requires us to assume the reality of the finite self because it requires us to provide for an act of assertion that cannot belong to the universal mind.

It will be perceived that the realism spoken of a little way back has to be reconciled with idealism in the sense just named. In technical terms the former is not metaphysical realism, but only epistemological realism, that is, the doctrine that knowledge transcends mere ideas of things and grasps the truth of things themselves. What constitutes the truth or reality of things, however, remains to be settled, and this is the more strictly metaphysical question. Following out the stream we have already dwelt upon so long, we come upon this as the most characteristic exposition: If things are something more than mere ideas, and if the basal reality is an absolutely pervasive personality, nonpersonal things must be understood as functions of this being, in other words, as acts of will. We thus reach as our final conception of the world an idealism, in the sense that personal beings are the only realities, which is at the same time a realism in the sense that there is infinitely more to the world than mere ideas. Ideas become, indeed, only one side of a reality that is also full of life and energy.

In the conclusion of his *History of Modern Philosophy* Falckenberg remarks that the task now before philosophy is an idealistic reconstruction on the lines of German idealism, but free from its excesses and loyal to experience and the sciences. This task is already in process of fulfillment. The contempt for metaphysics that was almost universal a score of years ago is no longer manifest. The deepest problems of life are once more attacked with courage, though with caution. It would be easy to misunderstand this movement, and especially easy to overestimate the amount of convergence of present-day philosophy toward theism. Yet, after all needful allowance has been made and caution observed, it remains true that the philosophy of knowledge, which is the part of philosophy particularly cultivated to-day, tends on the whole to reinstate theism as a rationally demonstrable truth.

George A. Coe.

Art. VII.—THE MILEAGE AND TONNAGE OF THE UNIVERSE.

It is generally admitted that the desire and effort to discover, if possible, man's true position and value in the system of nature and also in the universe of things by which he is surrounded and of which he forms a part is to-day more intense and widespread than in any other period in the history of the world. While the subject of this inquiry is one venerable with age and has been discussed a thousand times and more, it nevertheless remains true that the very opulence of man's nature, his far-off yesterdays, his perplexing to-days, and his possible brilliant or sorrowful to-morrows furnish a theme as absorbing as can be found in any line of investigation that the most fertile imagination can suggest.

On the final settlement of the question as to man's position in the material creation and also in the thought and care of God depend results of the most vital and far-reaching character. It is only expressing a feeling which has visited, at one time or another, every thinking mind when we say that there are aspects of man's existence on earth which again and again with peculiar and fierce persistency push their way to the front of our observation, and which for the unreasoning moment point to man's humiliation and insignificance, rather than to his importance and exaltation. The brief residence of the individual upon the earth and the many limitations which hinder and cramp his various powers bring to many a sense of failure and disappointment which is not easily described. The ignorance, the animalism, the crime, the meanness, the shame, and wickedness of great numbers of our kind create feelings of disgust, rather than of admiration, and force upon us a deep and prolonged regret. The small space occupied by the single life in the great rush and volume of human history, the readiness with which the most noble are too frequently forgotten—all seem to repeat the one story of man's comparative worthlessness and insignificance. And so do the infinite march and majestic order with which the great globe and the whole system of the visible universe move on their way, startling us

now and again by crushing a human life with apparently pitiless power, as if man's life were a cheap and almost valueless thing. In addition to these varied aspects which seem to ignore the traditional importance and costliness of human existence we are met repeatedly with the same assignment of Providence which, to say the least, from the standpoint of mere appearances are oftentimes painfully perplexing. Many of the good and true are found toiling through weary years in obscure places, bearing life's pressing responsibilities, sufferings, and cares amid the most humiliating and trying circumstances that the world can furnish.

But there is, perhaps, no object by which we are confronted which is so calculated to bear in upon us with such crushing force the feeling of our insignificance as the vastness and magnificence of the visible universe. The magnitude of our globe and the astronomic immensities above us have silenced man's metropolitan pride, with the enormous and awful bulk and infinite pomp and unmeasured greatness known to exist, have often victimized our poor senses and for the passing moment have made sad havoc with the sublime teachings of our orthodox theology. If the considerations drawn from the hugeness of our own planet, its resistless sweep and imperial movement through the unrecorded years, have produced this sense of human vanity and likeness, how are we to meet the revelations of the telescope and the well-ascertained facts of modern science as these facts bear on the other portions of the terrestrial creation? The earth is but a very small portion of the splendid aggregation of stars and suns which constitute the material universe. In this vast field all arithmetic computations appear to break down and the princeliest and most daring and audacious calculations bow their heads and from sheer utter exhaustion retire from their worthy and lofty task.

It is this question of physical immensities, this "mileage and tonnage" of the universe, which has frequently been perplexing to the devout mind in its religious conception and faith, and which an unchristian science and philosophy have used to belittle man's place in nature and to discredit and degrade the biblical estimates and interpretations as to man's place of

supremacy and consequent importance in the system of things in which we live and of which we form a part. Along this line of mere material bulk, of size and sight, some naturalists have sought to travel in their investigations and conclusions, with a strange and unaccountable obliviousness to the balancing and redeeming considerations which most assuredly must enter into the question now under discussion. Allowing themselves to be overwhelmed by the soulless, colossal magnitudes around and above them, they have sought to destroy in the religious mind the Christian explanations and estimates touching the importance of the human race, and to teach that the biblical ideas and views as to man's intrinsic value are an insufferable exaggeration, and that the historic importance of our globe is also an exaggeration which the "mileage and tonnage" of the universe ought in some way to upset and remove.

Before, however, one single inch of the orthodox ground is surrendered to this arrogant demand, and before we allow ourselves to be frightened out of our cherished beliefs by any of the heartless teachings of modern or ancient unbelief, or any of the big, bullying forces of nature, it is well to remember where the speculations of materialism will lead us, what they propose to give us in exchange for that which we are called upon to abandon, and to inquire whether this question of mere size and sight has not left out of the count some of the foundation and essential considerations without which the discussion of man's true place in the universe becomes a most imperfect, unreasonable, and contemptible affair. It requires no special monopoly of argumentation to show that, viewed simply and only from the standpoint of the materialist, human life at once becomes a painful and bewildering mystery, the climax of a great procession of haphazard forces, and that man stands out in all this lower creation as the poor, unpitied victim of cruel iron necessities which gird us round with their massive bands and ponderous bars. The universe itself, with all its wealth of wonder and magnificence, under the same methods of interpretation becomes a soulless, mindless mechanism, an abhorrent riddle which men may attempt to solve but attempt in vain.

The prime intention of this paper is to indicate the utter absurdity of fixing values by the simple bulk of things.

Considerations touching the place of humanity in the scale of existence and in the measureless empire of created things, as well as in the care and thought of God, are pressing themselves upon the observations of the current century in a most commanding and impressive way; and it is being admitted in very influential quarters that the biblical explanations on this and kindred themes are not, as some misguided men have imagined, among the exploded and vanished things in the past, but are found to harmonize most clearly with certain strange and moving facts in man's constitution and with the larger and more perfect outlook at the universe which many skeptical schools unscientifically neglect or ignore. And here we most emphatically say, let no man abdicate his manhood or depreciate for one moment the sacred crown right of humanity through any argument that may be drawn from the mere bigness of things—this well-worn, defiant, imposing "mileage and tonnage" theory of the universe. The cowards it has made in the past and the pitiful humiliations it has made today ought to put us on our guard against any further repetition of this shameless tyranny which an unchristian science has sought to establish and force upon us in fierce and relentless terms.

After all that has been put forward by certain schools, to rob man of his crown of royalty and leave him a poor, wandering, human mystery, to be swallowed up by the deepening gloom of some sad and hopeless grave, the following considerations demand our attention in this discussion, and when they are assigned their proper place of importance in the review of man's nature and his place in the scale of existence the whole edifice of modern materialistic explanations is completely shattered, and its impotency and delusive teachings are apparent to all.

It is admitted by the great majority of distinguished thinkers of the time that by far the highest and noblest form of life that has ever appeared in this world, or that is ever likely to appear, is the human existence. Man in his constitution and marvelous capabilities and power—who under the teachings of a bare, bold naturalism was represented as utterly insignificant—is now recognized as the indisputed master and

sovereign of this lower world. The end of this planet's existence is now found to be in the presence, the accommodation, the achievements, the perfecting, and the satisfaction of the human race. For man's appearance the innumerable geological ages are now recognized to have been a vast prediction and an elaborate and never-ending preparation. His approach and final advent upon earth never seems to have been absent from any of the great periods which played their parts in this solemn, stupendous drama of an advancing and rising world. Dr. Lee says:

> The history of the physical universe culminates in man, finds its interpreter and its interpretation in him. Never was the thought of him absent from her movements through Pliocene, Miocene, Eocene, Cretaceous, Jurassic, Triassic, Carboniferous, Devonian, Silurian, or Cambrian ages. "In all her awful cosmic emotion to reach order and form it was the anticipation that moved her, for he it is at last that comes of it. So through all the course of her tumultuous history nature was pregnant with man." *

The whole scheme of the natural world is realized and perfected in man, and finds its consummation in his presence and ministry; and it does not find any such consummation of its purposes and provisions in any other object that can be named. The meaning of creation, as one has said, is never understood until the dust stands erect in a living man. Not until the atoms throbbed in a human brain and beat in a human heart did the purpose which had run through the ages stand out, defined and justified. Then it was that the intention underneath the drift of ages spelled itself out in the unity of thought, the freedom of choice, and the capacity for love potential in the intellect, will, and heart of the first man. He was the realization of an ideal, which gave meaning to the long periods of preparation. As the final expression, the purpose and end of the terrestrial creation, he was at once the interpreter and the interpretation of all that had gone before. Emerson has said that "the main enterprise of the world for splendor and extent is the upbuilding of a man." To this may be added the remark of Disraeli, that "Science may prove the insignificance of this globe in the scale of cre-

* *The Making of a Man*, p. 78.

ation, but it cannot prove the insignificance of man." Without man as the interpretation of the universe the whole stupendous fabric becomes a bewildering and mysterious riddle, unsolved and unsolvable.

Then man's dominion and claims are altogether without a parallel amid all the giant forces and agencies by which he is surrounded. His position is that of master and king over all the far-reaching realms which make up the immense system of things in which he lives, moves, and has his being. The loftiest and mightiest energies are compelled to yield themselves to his demands, and in ways innumerable submit themselves to his plans and service. And, besides this, the only creature who is able to give intelligent and comprehensive interpretations to this world system in which he finds himself, and the more extended provinces and realms in the majestic empire of which his planet home forms a part, is man, whom some of the apostles of the "mileage and tonnage theory" have sought to humiliate, discrown, and degrade. Regarded as a home this world is evidently intended for man in a thousand senses in which it was not made for any other creature. Every other form of life finds its wants and the scope of its nature met within very narrow limitations, but man appears to need it all, because in many ways he is related to it all, and to be completely furnished must be in a position to use it all. And if man's superiority requires startling illustration it is found in the fact that his prerogatives and relationships are so original and extraordinary that on the handling of his high inheritance of privilege and power the whole system of things around him will either rise or fall. So linked with man's character and conduct is nature that in ten thousand ways the material world depends for its development and perfection upon his movements, his manifold ministry, and his continued unexampled power and progress.

But the consideration which above all others redeems human life from insignificance is the moral freedom with which that life is constitutionally endowed. The late Dr. Dale has said:

> We are encompassed by an immense and wonderful universe, and its minutest atoms as well as its suns and stars are governed by fixed and unvarying laws. Year after year scientific discovery wins fresh and

fresh triumphs over regions previously unknown, and everywhere the reign of law is undisturbed through ages and realms we cannot measure. The great forces which are expressed in the phenomena of the material universe have been constant, and the laws which control their action are uniform and unchanging. Even those of us who have no special acquaintance with the physical sciences feel the solemn spell of this immense and immovable order. Sometimes we have no strength to stand erect in its presence; we are awed and silenced by the vast range and irresistible action of material forces. What are we that we should assert a freedom that does not belong to the planets or to the ocean? But I decline to surrender my dignity in the presence of material immensity. The tides rise and fall by an eternal necessity, but the passions which ebb and flow in my heart I can check and control. The planets are bound by irreversible forces to the orbits in which they travel. I am often conscious of perplexity as to the line in which I should move, and instead of being irresistibly swung by a force over which I have no control I choose for myself the rough path of duty which leads to mountain heights where I breathe the air of heaven and see its glory, or the smoother path which descends to darkness and death. I am greater than the planets, I am greater than the sea; they are subject, I am sovereign; they submit, I rule; they are bound, I am free. My own conscience assures me of this, and it is confirmed by the voice of God. From behind and above the forces of the material universe there reaches me a word which recognizes my unique prerogative, isolates me from all material things, imposes on me the responsibility of my moral action. The living God who is above nature declares that I, too, am above nature and must give an account of myself to him. It is this conception of our moral relationship to God that invests human life with dignity and grandeur which the obscurest and most illustrious of our race share alike.

Too often have men been cowards in the presence of material forces of which they are princes. They have manifested the spirit of slaves, crept and crawled in the dust, and with a base, contemptible oblivion of their true dignity have declared that they have neither scepter nor crown, that they are subject to forces which they cannot control. Whenever men under these teachings and influences have been led to abandon the biblical view of mankind one of the most powerful motives, even the pursuit of material triumphs in nature, has been sadly lessened; and the relinquishment of this consciousness of sovereignty has been followed by men losing their imperial ways and ceasing to be masters of the world at our feet.

Man's capacity for God and his hunger for a larger sphere

are affirmed in the most conclusive manner in the whole religious history of the world, and remain to-day a great fact with which all the agnostic and materialistic schools have to reckon. Surely it was for good reasons that the Son of God came to this world to die for man; if he had not come could the universe of intelligent beings have overlooked it in God if no effort had been made to redeem such fallen majesty as is wrapped up in the very humblest human life? If God created man and placed him at the head of the material creation is it too much to expect that he would care for him and redeem him, even if it should cost the effort and sacrifice which the New Testament says has been made for his recovery, illumination, and eternal good? Is it not one prime purpose of the whole biblical revelation and of Christ's mission to earth to destroy forever from the human mind the feeling of insignificance and worthlessness which the vastness of the surrounding universe, supplemented by the degrading teachings of an infidel science, would bear in upon us with crushing force? And what if "this dim spot which men call earth" should owe all its fame in the congregation of larger worlds to the fact that a being of intelligence and moral capabilities lives here, and that he has been visited by the Son of God on a mission of boundless mercy and redeeming love? Whatever fame this planet may have secured in the history of the terrestrial creation has certainly not arisen from its pomp and magnitude in the assembly of worlds. Astronomy alone could never save our earth from contempt. The fact that it is the residence of moral beings and has welcomed the adorable Christ gives it a distinction which no mere physical bulk could ever bestow, and constitutes it the most important and memorable spot in all the unmeasured universe of God.

If humanity's true place in the immense fabric of creation is one of insignificance, if man's supremacy is only a passing fiction, and if he is only a poor, vain passenger across the promenade of a fleeting existence, then it is quite clear that Christianity at once becomes an insufferable exaggeration, and that man's nature is terribly overfreighted with capacities which are unmeaning, useless, and cruel. The building of a great engine to propel a pleasure boat, or the erection of some huge

ship to sail across a little lake, would be pardonable blunders compared with the endowments which we know man to possess, if he is nothing more than a cosmic spark soon to vanish in the great darkness forever. We know, however, that there is no vice in the constitution of things; and the solicitude of the heavens for man's welfare is the burden of the Christian revelation—a revelation which has accomplished the most marvelous revolutions in the world's thought, life, and history, and which is divinely destined to make the circuit of the globe. It is the Christian interpretation of man's nature, position, and possibilities which alone fits the facts as they appear in human history. In this view of man's importance and value we find the inspiration and foundation of all the noble and increasing effort for his uplifting and redemption from all the humiliations into which his wrongdoing has flung him.

The proposed reconstruction of society and the world on a Christian basis springs from this interpretation of man's exalted position; all the evangelistic and missionary movements of the age, and all the deep, warm currents of human sympathy for the "burnt districts" of humanity, find their origin here, and in no other explanation whatever. The past progress of the world has been accomplished on the lines laid down in the teachings of humanity's great book, and on no other. A glance at the world's map will at once illustrate this point. It is the nineteenth century in Africa, China, Japan, India, and in the other large sections of the heathen world, as well as on this great continent and in the rest of Christendom; but the vast difference in social, moral, intellectual, and religious conditions is only accounted for by the movements and teachings which are distinctly Christian.

William Harrison

Art. VIII.—ACTS AND GALATIANS AS SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL.

When we find two pieces of literature dealing with the same subject it is profitable to carefully compare them. If it can be shown that they were prepared independently of each other an agreement will make more certain their truthfulness, even in those points which are not in common. If they are in harmony one will throw light on the other, and our knowledge will be greater because of the existence of both. On the other hand a hopeless disagreement invalidates one or the other, and to a certain extent weakens both.

It is for this reason we compare the Book of Acts with the autobiographical parts of the Epistle to the Galatians. Almost two thirds of the Book of Acts is devoted to the life of St. Paul. The Epistle to the Galatians is assigned to Paul with scarcely a dissenting voice among the critics. If the statements given by the Book of Acts regarding Paul's life do not harmonize with those given by Paul himself we are compelled either to doubt Paul's truthfulness or to consider the author of the Book of Acts an historian of very low rank, who either did not know the facts or else misrepresented them. To make us feel on safe historical ground the two narratives must confirm, explain, and complete each other. It is not enough for us to be able simply to explain apparent discrepancies. We must have agreement and harmony. If this be found we then shall have no difficulty in accepting the tradition which makes the author of the Book of Acts Luke, the friend and companion of Paul. Striking agreements will also give us warrant to claim for Luke the place of an historian of highest rank and for his book a historicity often denied it.

I. As a first step it will be necessary to examine the contradictions and discrepancies which have been alleged to exist between the Book of Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians. If hopeless discrepancies can be shown to exist it is useless to look for agreements.

1. Paul, in Gal. i, 16, 17, when speaking of his conversion, says: "Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood:

. . . but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned unto Damascus" (R. V.). Acts ix, 19, 20, after telling the story of Paul's conversion, says: "And he was certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway in the synagogues he proclaimed Jesus, that he is the Son of God."

2. In Gal. i, 18–24, Paul tells of his first visit to Jerusalem. He says that three years after his conversion he spent fifteen days with Cephas; and that he saw none other of the disciples save James. In Acts ix, 26, 27, it is stated that when Paul first came to Jerusalem he assayed to join himself to the disciples, but they so feared him that it was not until after his introduction by Barnabas that they would believe their former persecutor could be trusted. This fear seems incredible if Paul had been preaching Christ for three years at Damascus.

3. When Paul returned from Jerusalem he claims to have been still unknown by face to the churches of Judea which were in Christ (Gal. i, 21, 22). But Acts ix, 28–30, tells how Paul was with the apostles going in and out at Jerusalem, and how he disputed until the Jews would have killed him had he not been rescued and brought away.

More has been made of these alleged contradictions than their importance warrants. Only a superficial study of the two documents before us will show the different purposes of their authors. The Book of Acts is the history of a movement. Its author has undertaken to tell the story of Christianity's growth. He uses simply those facts which conserve this purpose. It is not the greatest historian who tells everything. A great historian in an historical work of the highest order seizes the critical events, concentrates attention on them by full treatment, touches lightly and briefly minor matters, and omits all he deems unimportant to a correct understanding of the subject he has set himself to treat. The historian may omit many facts which would be important to an orator or a controversialist. Keeping this in mind we may be better able to understand the different ways in which Paul and Luke treat the same event. Remembering their different purposes let us look at these alleged contradictions again. (1) The three years in Arabia. It is now believed that the rule of Arabia

extended almost to Damascus, and it is thought by some to have included the city. The desert of Arabia was then only a short distance from the city walls. No long journey, therefore, would have to be taken, and Paul does not say it had any bearing on his preparation or his teaching. Since Luke could not mention everything, and as the time had no bearing on his story, he passes it over with that indefiniteness we find everywhere in his chronology, and calls the period simply "certain days." (2) Reason for fear at Jerusalem. The persecutions of Paul had been so fierce at Jerusalem that his name had become almost a synonym with terror and death. So many ways were used by persecutors to find out who were Christians that those in Jerusalem feared this might be only a trick to entrap them. And with the characteristic skepticism of human nature they disbelieved all reports which may have come from Damascus when they saw the form and heard the voice of their former persecutor in their midst. (3) But how was it possible, after Paul had gone in and out with the apostles and had preached boldly at Jerusalem, as Luke says, that Paul could say he was still unknown by face to the churches of Judea? In answering this it is well to notice that the Acts nowhere speak of Paul's preaching to the Judean Christians. It does designate those with whom he disputed as Jewish Hellenists. Yet, utterly unmindful of this fact, some opponents of Paul and Luke have professed to find a contradiction here involving serious consequences. Paul also says he was only at Jerusalem fifteen days, which the Book of Acts confirms by telling of his flight to escape the plot against his life. So any fair reading of the account given by Luke will convince that in no particular does it contradict Paul's statement. To a majority of Christians he might, and to all the churches outside of Jerusalem he must, have been personally unknown. His stay was too short for him to become known to them.

Such are the contradictions which have been alleged to exist between these two accounts of the history of St. Paul. Very much has been made out of them by the opponents of Christianity. But, as in many other cases, only a little patient investigation is needed to completely overthrow the conclusions of destructive criticism. There are students among Christians

as well as among infidels, and their investigations have clearly shown the folly of seeking longer to insist that Luke and Paul openly contradict each other.

II. In our comparison of these two documents we find certain events mentioned by Paul which are omitted by Luke. It has been said that Luke was ignorant of them. If this be true it argues against giving Luke a high rank among historians. If he is ignorant of important details of his hero's life he is not worthy to be considered a perfectly accurate historian. Determining one point will decide this. If the points which Luke omits are essential to the story we must admit his ignorance. But if the events omitted are irrelevant to the plan he has adopted, no matter how interesting they may be, we shall rather say they give evidence of his skill as an historian who is known as much for his omissions of irrelevant matter as for the important points which he gives. Let us take up, one by one, the chief events which Paul tells and Luke omits, and which have not already been mentioned.

1. Luke does not mention Paul's sickness, on account of which Paul tells us he visited Galatia. But he has such references to the minute details of that journey that it seems impossible he should have been ignorant of Paul's illness. He tells us of a change of plan on that journey which is significant. We are told that on that first missionary journey the party went from Paphos to Perga, thence directly north across the mountains to the Roman province of Galatia. There must have been some reason for this abrupt change of plan. Paul's sickness seems to be that reason. If, as is thought by many, he was afflicted with a malady which was aggravated by a low, swampy country, we can understand this hasty flight to the mountains. Here, at Perga, John Mark left the party. The plan of the journey, as marked out perhaps by the mother Church, did not contemplate this retreat to the north. Paul says it was not in his own plan. So John Mark, believing the mission to be to Perga, and perhaps on to Ephesus, refused to disobey the Church at Jerusalem, and deserted the party when they turned aside from their first plan. If Paul's sickness caused all this it may seem strange that Luke does not tell it. But Luke rarely gives one thing as the cause of another. To

him the important point was the carrying the Gospel to the Galatians. For the sake of the critical reader he must account for any members of the party who had started on the journey and had not reached Galatia. Luke puts events side by side, and allows the reader to draw the inference that one was the reason of another. Paul's sickness was surely not the reason for the defection of John Mark; the change of plan was. So Luke gives the real reason for Mark's desertion, and omits the reason for the change of plan. It did not seem right to Luke to say that the founding of the church of the Galatians was due to an accident. Luke rarely tells what sent the apostles from one place to another, unless it was a special message from God. The important point in Luke's history of Christianity was that the Gospel reached the Galatians, not the accident which caused it.

2. It has been claimed that Luke omits all account of the quarrel of Peter and Paul at Antioch, in which Paul says he withstood Peter face to face. Much has been made of this quarrel. Peter's nature has been called vacillating, and the powerful preacher of Pentecost has been considered a coward and a backslider. It has been claimed that, after the Church council at Jerusalem in which the apostles approved the Gentile work and by the mouth of James released the Gentiles from obedience to the law, and after Peter, inspired by the vision from heaven, had so defended the Gentile work as to win the council's approval, James had so reversed his decision as to send certain men down to Antioch to forbid what the council of apostles had permitted, and that Peter, unmindful of the past, had yielded to them. It is difficult to see how this could be possible. This view not only ascribes to Peter and James worse than human weakness and wavering, but conduct devoid of reason or sanity. It makes them quite different from the kind of men God chooses as his agents to-day. It is a wrong belittling of all the other apostles for the sake of honoring Paul.

Without detracting any from the honor of Paul we hold that Luke does mention the difficulty at Antioch, and in a way which reflects more credit on Peter and James than is usually given them. In the first verse of the fifteenth chapter of

the Book of Acts we are told of certain who came down from Judea and insisted on circumcision as essential to salvation. In the twenty-fourth verse of the same chapter James, in addressing the council, mentions this fact and condemns it. The church at Antioch had been adapting itself to the new order of things. Gentiles seem to have been admitted on the same terms as the Jews and without any Jewish rites being required. The church at Jerusalem was not so liberal. So, when certain representatives came down from Jerusalem to Antioch they were horrified at what they found there. When the matter was first presented to Peter he was unable to withstand the argument that all ought to follow Christ, who was circumcised and in most respects obeyed the law. We can easily understand Peter's withdrawing from the Gentiles' table. Only Paul stood firm. Doubtless recalling to Peter the conversion of Cornelius, he accused him of being false to the divine vision which Peter saw. And his arraignment was so successful that we find Peter defending Paul in the council. It is an interesting point in favor of this view to notice that Peter uses the same argument at Jerusalem which Paul tells us he used against Peter. Paul had said (Gal. ii, 14), "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (A Jew should keep all points of the law, which all confessed themselves unable to do.) Before the council Peter says (Acts xv, 10), "Why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" If Paul and Peter were not in harmony after the incident at Antioch, Paul's argument to the Galatians loses its force, because he argues from the harmony of his teaching with that of the other disciples. That they were in harmony is shown by Peter's letters speaking warmly of Paul's work. Placing the difficulty told in Gal. ii, 11–14, thus before the time of the council at Jerusalem, not only shows Luke to be an historian who mentions important points, but it also shows Peter and James in a better light and makes them more worthy of our respect.

3. A difficulty has just been found with the visit to Jerusalem which Paul mentions in Gal. ii, 1, *ff*. Even valiant

defenders of Paul have made this the third, as told in the Book of Acts (chap. xv), although Paul claims it as the second. It has been considered the third, in utter defiance of the fact that Paul's argument would be woefully weak were he to leave a middle visit unmentioned in an argument based on the rarity of his visits. When he is claiming that he received no help from Jerusalem, and mentions the events of two visits as proof, would not his opponents instantly pick his argument apart if it were found that one visit had been omitted? The trouble at Galatia had been caused by Judaizers who had come down from Jerusalem, and who might be expected to know how many times Paul had visited that city. It will not do to say Paul saw none of the disciples on his second visit and hence does not mention it. If the second visit was made he must mention it for the sake of his argument. No other place in Paul's writings shows such lamentable weakness as even his defenders admit exists here. It would seem far more reasonable to believe that Luke had inserted the account of a visit which was never made. But, if we admit that, we must give up our claim of Luke's historical exactness. Another difficulty also presents itself. It is difficult to see how Paul could honestly say he received no instruction from the apostles on the occasion of the Church council. A formal decision was made by this body, and was given to Paul and Barnabas to carry to the Gentiles. Even though the decision was favorable to himself he should have told of it to be strictly honest in his statement.

That Paul did not mention the council or its decree in his letter to the Galatians is explained by noting the point at issue. His argument is concerned with his teaching on his first visit to Galatia. This visit is now almost universally held to have been made on the first missionary journey, and so before the council. This is also an argument against the visit, mentioned in Gal. ii, 1, *ff.*, being the one of the council at Jerusalem. If it had been so late there would have been no point in mentioning it. So then we are justified in deciding that Paul did not refer to his visit to the council when he wrote Gal. ii, 1, *ff.* There now remains the visit which Luke calls the second, and which is recorded in Acts xi, 30.

This was when Barnabas and Saul carried up relief to Jerusalem during the famine. The chronology has been an objection here. The "fourteen years" have been counted from the first visit to Jerusalem, three years after Paul's conversion. But a careful reading of the Greek of Gal. i, 15–ii, 1, shows that this is not the most evident meaning. The "fourteen years" are surely counted from his conversion. The date of the famine is yet undecided. By some it is placed as late as 48 A. D. The conversion of Paul is also placed as early as 34 or 35 A. D. If Paul used the Jewish custom of calling the first and last parts of a year as whole years we need have no difficulty with the chronology. This visit which Luke calls the second, and describes in Acts xi, agrees quite accurately with that which Paul gives as his second in Gal. ii, 1, *ff.* As Paul came up, bearing supplies to his starving brethren, he was not likely to be questioned about his theology. After such a mission it is quite possible he could say, "On this visit I received nothing." Then, too, when Paul said, "I went up by revelation" (Gal. ii, 2), and the visit was identified with the one when Luke said he went up at the command of the church (Acts xv, 2), it has been taken as simply another instance of the looseness of a careless historian. But when we identify the visit which Paul says he made "by revelation" with the one when Luke says he went up because the Holy Spirit spoke through Agabus, we decide that the statement is not loose and that in this instance at least the historian is not careless. Such exact knowledge of so minute details shows Luke to have been an historian who at least knew the facts he attempted to relate. And so we have found a system to Luke's omissions. That he does omit many things must be admitted. That he omits facts essential to his story will have to be denied. Between Paul and Luke, each going on with such a different purpose, we find no discrepancy to exist. From the history of Luke we find no important fact told by Paul omitted. All these lead us to call Luke the friend of Paul and his companion on many journeys. Without more proof we could dare claim for him the place of an historian of the highest rank.

III. We have found striking agreements in unexpected

places. Points which seemed to be discrepancies have proved to be confirmations. We now turn to certain direct coincidences, so direct as to leave no doubt but that the authors of both accounts were writing of truth with which they were thoroughly acquainted, yet so different as to leave no suspicion of collaboration or padding. We can notice but a few of these points. The fact of Paul's persecutions and his conversion, told at length in the Acts, is unmistakably implied in Galatians. The fact that Paul's conversion took place near Damascus, that he went from there to Jerusalem, and that he was there for only a short time is told at length in the Acts and plainly referred to in Galatians. In Galatians Paul mentions his going from Jerusalem to Syria and Cilicia. The Book of Acts definitely assigns Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, as the terminus of his journey. Of the Judaizing element which called out Galatians we have abundant evidence in the Book of Acts, as the resistance to Peter when he baptized Cornelius. In Acts xxi, 20, James bears witness to the suspicion and misrepresentation of Paul and his teachings. So the Book of Galatians at every step and in every detail which are had in common with the Book of Acts confirms the historicity of the writings of Luke.

IV. But secular, no less than sacred, history has come in with its confirming voice. In the Book of Acts many noted characters are mentioned. Of each one we get but a glimpse. No one not familiar with contemporary life could make that glimpse consistent with the character of the men. According to most careful and liberal students there is not one sketch which is not true to the life as given by secular historians. Then, too, Luke is not content, when he uses the title of an officer, with using a general title. He uses the technical title in every respect. This makes his task more difficult and almost impossible, unless he was thoroughly acquainted with what he wrote about. Recent examinations of ancient records show him to have used the correct title in every case. Jewish and pagan records also bear Luke out to the letter in his account of the famine in the days of Claudius; of the strange death of Agrippa; of the greed of Felix and fairness of Festus; of the existence of the Italian band at Cæsarea; of the

decree of Claudius for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome; of the mode of dealing with Roman prisoners; and of even the minutest details of ancient navigation. All of these are referred to in that natural manner only possible to one who is thoroughly conversant with the facts and rigidly careful in all his statements.

By our comparison of this Book of Acts with Paul's own autobiographical hints in Galatians we have seen it impossible to believe other than that its author was a personal friend and companion of him whose life played so great a part in that great movement of which Luke was especially an historian. By a comparsion with secular history we have seen Luke to be so careful in those incidents so unimportant to his purpose as to compel the conviction that he can be trusted in regard to those matters for the sake of telling which his book was written. The Book of Acts has been called in question, and its author ranked low by some. But modern criticism and investigation have driven away the cloud, and in the opinion of many great scholars of our time Luke stands as one of the world's greatest historians. In his picture of Paul he gives us only the absolute essentials. Bnt his references to contemporary history and geography are so clear that we can complete the picture with much that we want to know. And so we trust Luke's sketch of Paul. As we study current history and Paul's own writings we understand it better. But, in the light of all that Luke says and of all that he directs us to, we feel justified in claiming that we have a better picture of Paul than of any other leader of the early Church, Christ scarcely excepted.

Samuel L. Stewart.

Art. IX.—THE KENOSIS.

"Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men."—*St. Paul.*

"That emptying is by no means the annihilating of the heavenly nature."—*Hilarius.*

I.

The purpose of this article is not overambitious. For no attempt is here made to fathom the unfathomable, or to divest completely of its mystery a subject which must beyond a certain point forever remain mysterious. The subject to be here considered, however, is but one of many brought before us by divine revelation which sooner or later shade off into impenetrable mystery, but which, nevertheless, are presented for meditation, and in such a way that meditation of the right sort may yield precious fruitage. Much depends upon the spirit and method of the investigation.

The *kenosis* belongs to the doctrine of the person of Christ. It relates to the condition of existence of the Son of God while in this world, "manifest in the flesh." And this surely is a matter of greatest moment to all who would rightly apprehend the Scripture revelation. If to-day students of the Scriptures are concentrating their attention upon Christ—and sometimes to the exclusion or rejection of much else—then the inquiry is all the more urgent as to what manner of person Christ was, with what wisdom and power and authority he was clothed, and under what limitations his divine nature manifested itself during his humiliation. Moreover, this particular feature of the subject is one to which Christian thinkers are now turning with renewed eagerness, sometimes reaching results that are rich and beneficent, but sometimes leaping to conclusions which if generally accepted would be most disastrous.

If further reason for study of the *kenosis* need be mentioned it is found in the fact that the subject is set before us in the Scriptures as profoundly ethical. It is not, as we shall see, wholly an abstruse theological problem for us only to glance at and lay aside as beyond all possibility of illumination. We

are called to look upon a voluntary and gracious act of the Son of God, and to find therein guidance and inspiration for our own actions. It is set before us as an illustration of the spirit and method of life to be sought and won by all of Christ's followers. Here we may find again how vain is the attempt to separate the ethical from the theological. But here, also, we may again be reminded that the end of revelation is always in some way practical. And here we may obtain our chief if not only warrant for seeking to penetrate as far as Scripture light can lead us into the sacred mystery of the *kenosis*.

II.

The use of this term in theology calls attention, of course, first of all, to its Scripture basis in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. The word *kenosis*, it is safe to say, would never have found its way into theological nomenclature if Paul had not written the famous passage in Phil. ii, 5–11. We refer the reader to the Revised Version, where the meaning is more clearly expressed. In the seventh verse the apostle uses the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε—rendered in the Authorized Version, "made himself of no reputation," but translated literally and properly in the Revised Version, "emptied himself," thus bringing before us the fact of the self-abnegation or self-emptying of the Son of God in connection with his entrance upon his incarnate state. This is the *kenosis*. It would be a grave mistake, however, to suppose that the idea has no other Scripture basis than the passage just mentioned. The same general idea appears in the words of our Lord in his intercessory prayer, "And now, O Father, glorify thou me . . . with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." He thinks and speaks of a glory which had been his—a glory with "the Father" and from eternity, a glory which he had laid aside, or of which he had "emptied himself," but which he is again to receive. Paul also speaks of Christ in 2 Cor. viii, 9, as one "who though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." But just as Christ in his prayer speaks only in general terms, so at this point the utterance of the apostle is also general. But we come, nevertheless, upon the same fact of self-deprivation or self-emptying.

And the general but strong impression that is produced by the New Testament Scriptures as a whole is that the Son of God was in this world in a state or condition greatly reduced from that of his preexistent and heavenly glory. This finds expression in the hymn of Charles Wesley:

> He left his Father's throne above—
> So free, so infinite his grace—
> Emptied himself of all but love,
> And bled for Adam's helpless race;
> 'Tis mercy all, immense and free,
> For, O my God, it found out me!

The fact of the *kenosis* is thus grasped in a general way by the common, popular faith of the Christian Church.

But is it possible for us to advance to any extent beyond this point? Can we find any details whatsoever by which to make more vivid and definite our conception of this great reality? The case is not met by laying stress upon the external features of our Lord's earthly life. The humble circumstances of his birth and all those other items of his outward life upon which our imagination and our faith are wont to fasten surely have their significance. But, after all, they are only incidental to and preceded by a greater humiliation. The fact of the *kenosis* is suggested, symbolized, emphasized before us by these circumstances. But it is deeper than all these. If the Son of God came into a state reduced from that of his heavenly glory, in what way was his state reduced? What was the "glory" left behind, the "riches" laid aside? What is meant by the "self-emptying" of Him who became incarnate? Everyone who is intellectually awake, to say nothing of being modest and reverent, must realize what a question this is. It is inwoven with the mystery of the incarnation. And if we attempt to push our inquiry too far we soon find ourselves in things too deep for us. Yet, does not the obligation we are under to study the Scripture revelation bid us seek to penetrate the mystery as far as possible, even though the result must fall far short of the full solution? It is often profitable to ask questions even when we can get only partial answers, and sometimes when we can get no answer at all. In the latter case especially it may lead to a human *kenosis*—often most salutary. In the matter with

which we are now dealing something worthy of effort, we venture to believe, is nevertheless attainable.

III.

The history of doctrine upon this topic is fruitful, first of all, in impressing the warning not to let speculation upon such themes carry us away beyond the bounds of all Scripture teaching. Both the divine revelation and the divine reticence must be respected. And further comes the warning, often needed, not to take a single word or phrase of Scripture out of its Scripture setting, and then read into it such meaning as may only seem to be appropriate, or such meaning as one may choose to find there. The attempt cannot be made here to present, even in barest outline, the fluctuations of doctrine and opinion and conjecture that have appeared in the history of this subject. But among the phases which the question has assumed are these: Was the Son of God during his earthly sojourn in the flesh deprived wholly or in any measure of his divine attributes? If he still retained them fully in his possession was their exercise or use for the time surrendered, and if so to what extent and under what regulating principle? Was the consciousness of our Lord simply human—the consciousness of his divine nature for the time nonexistent, or awakening within him only gradually—or was his consciousness throughout that of the God-man? How far-reaching these questions are, and how much depends upon turning thought in the right direction at these points, will be suggested later.

The best outcome of the thought of the early centuries of the Church was the conclusion generally held that "the Son did not retain the divine glory for himself or for his own advantage," while yet he did not cease to be, even in the flesh, what he eternally was. Such has been the prevailing faith of the Church in all the centuries. The words of Hilarius quoted at the head of this article rightly express it, "That emptying is by no means the annihilating of the heavenly nature." Even the controversy between the theologians of Giessen and Tübingen in the early part of the seventeenth century concerned itself chiefly with the use of the divine attributes by our Lord, and left the question of his possession of them undisputed.

But in later times speculation has become more daring, and theories of the *kenosis* have been set afloat of the most startling character. For example, Thomasius held to a self-abdication of the real attributes of the divine nature on the part of the Son of God, and assumed accordingly that the Son was self-excluded from the Trinity during the earthly life of Christ. The Trinity was reduced to a duality; the divine life of the Son was for the time in a state of sleeplike unconsciousness. Others, as Gess and Halm, held substantially the same position. And views approaching these more or less clearly have by no means been confined to Germany, but have permeated and leavened the thought and teaching of some so-called evangelical preachers and theologians in England and America. Such cases may remind us of the perilous paths men attempt to tread when they allow their speculative tendencies to bear them beyond the indications of the Scriptures, or when they force upon a single Scripture term its most rigid implications, regardless of what the Scriptures teach in other places.

IV.

The persistent attempts to reduce the divine life of Christ during his humiliation are for the most part rationalistic. Men stumble over the impossibility of comprehending the union in one person of two natures, one finite, the other infinite. This surely is beyond our thought, and there we must leave it. But it must be borne in mind that the same insoluble problem is set before us in contemplating Christ in his exalted state, that of his present heavenly glory. He is still the God-man, and will remain so forever. The gulf between the finite and the infinite still exists for our thought of Christ, even the Christ who lives and reigns forever and ever. Is anyone, therefore, prepared to say that the divine nature of the Son of God is still reduced because he is still the Son of man? The rationalistic impulse that has often taken the place of reverent reflection would lead to that conclusion.

Another reflection is pertinent at this point. The *kenosis* is not set before us in the Scriptures as a necessary preliminary to incarnation, but as an act of the Son of God wrought for the sake of redemption. It exhibits "the grace of the Lord

Jesus Christ." The question whether the Son would have become incarnate, even if sin had not come into the world, is one that does not admit of much discussion. None is attempted here, though the question is not wholly an idle one. But this is to be recognized, that incarnation in and of itself, if what the Scriptures teach is true, does not necessarily involve humiliation. Man is by creation in "the image" and after "the likeness" of God. And the ascended Lord, who has passed forever beyond all humiliation, is in the proper sense still incarnate. "For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." It was for incarnation plus redemption that the self-deprivation or self-emptying of the Son of God was effected. This furnishes what must be a guiding principle in the whole consideration of this subject.

But the advocates of extreme or false *kenosis* theories have lost sight of this. What kind of a Redeemer can he be, if the divine nature existed in Christ only in a comatose state, or was for the time practically nonexistent? How in any admissible view of the atonement can he bear "the sins of many." And what becomes of Christ's authority as a teacher? Is he any longer "the light of the world?" Does he any longer with certainty declare unto us the way of salvation? Will his words remain when heaven and earth have passed away? And what becomes of the revelation of God which for centuries the Christian world has found in Christ, if after all God was not actually manifest in the flesh? The implications of the false doctrine are unmistakable and terrible. For some time the spectacle has been presented of men attempting to divest, in one way or another, prophets and apostles of their authority as spokesmen for God, or as mediums of special revelation. The climax is reached in the renewed attempt to destroy confidence in the authority of Christ. What then is it proposed to leave us as the seat of authority in religion? Presumably, "Christian consciousness!" And such an arrangement would be "liberal" enough to suit everybody.

What makes this error more insidious is that it is not the bald denial of the divine nature of Christ. Christ is presented to us as a divine-human being, and yet self-deprived during his earthly state of his attributes of divineness. How irrational

such a supposition is in itself, and how irreconcilably opposed to the biblical conception of the divine unchangeableness, the reader must be left to judge for himself. But it must be noted that the thought that the Son of God in becoming man "emptied himself" of all or any of the attributes of deity is a sheer assumption which finds no support in the famous passage of St. Paul. Such a conception is reached only by rending the phrase "emptied himself" away from its surrounding significant statements, and then attaching to it an overstrained and unscriptural meaning. If St. Paul teaches in this passage what the advocates of the extreme *kenosis* theories would have us believe, then he contradicts himself in many other places. Space will not permit many citations. Anyone familiar with the words of the apostle can make large additions to the following: In 1 Cor. i, 24, he speaks of Christ as "the power of God, and the wisdom of God," and it must be seen that the reference is not specifically to Christ in his exalted state, but to the Christ who was "crucified," who was to the Jews "a stumbling-block" and to the Greeks "foolishness." In Col. i, 19, we read, "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell;" and this "fullness" dwelt in the One who "made peace through the blood of his cross." And in Col. ii, 3, 9, Paul says, "In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. . . . For in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." The reference here is both to Christ in his glorified state and to the state in which he existed when he walked and taught among men. For, as the context shows, these declarations concerning Christ are for the purpose of emphasizing the validity of his doctrine. And therefore "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge"—"the fullness of the Godhead"—are represented by the apostle as belonging to Christ during the period of his earthly ministry. Lastly, upon this point the words of Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. iii, 16) are decisive, "Great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Whatever the self-emptying may have been, it is plain that the apostle does not leave room here for any arbitrary hypothesis that the divine nature in Christ was in some

unimaginable way reduced to a mere shell which was emptied of its essential contents.

Likewise, if the interpretation in question is correct, St. Paul not only contradicts himself, but he stands opposed in that famous passage to the New Testament Scriptures generally. Here also only a few suggestions can be offered. Surely St. John, who writes of "the Word made flesh," does not conceive of the Word in that state to have been any less than the Word who was "in the beginning," the Word who "was God." And, as if to make the matter more explicit, he says, "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Whether this refers, as certain expositors have held, to the transfiguration, when the chosen three were permitted to behold Christ with the veil of his humiliation for the time drawn aside, or whether, as the majority understand it, the "glory" was a spiritual glory, always manifest to Christ's disciples who had eyes to behold it, we need not consider. But in either case it was "the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth," possessed by Christ even during his ministry, though still to be distinguished, as we shall see, from the glory he had laid aside.

Was our Lord conscious, and even from the very outset conscious, of his divine nature? Two questions in one, with respect to which speculation certainly must not attempt to exercise itself too largely. And upon one phase of the question the Scriptures are by no means full and explicit. The early years of Jesus are in a large measure undescribed, and receive only a few allusions in the Gospel records. But how he could have the divine nature and not be conscious of it, or how that nature could be in him and not be conscious of itself, must be hard to see. And far more than that, does not the supposition involve a contradiction? The very conception of divine nature involves self-consciousness. The divine nature never slumbers. Even in this sense we may safely say, "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep." St. Luke affords two glimpses especially into those early years. "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him." Has not this passage again and again been overstrained and distorted from its true meaning?

What have we here, after all, but a declaration of the human development of Christ? And in the reference to the "wisdom" with which he was "filled" do we not find an indication of something more than human? Certainly there is here no ground upon which to rest the idea that Christ at that point in his history was unconscious of his divine nature. Another glimpse shows us the child-Christ in the temple. "All that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers." To his mother he said, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" "My Father," the very term he so often used afterward to express the peculiar relation between himself as the eternal Son and the eternal Father.

But, leaving this more obscure part of the question, and looking farther on, we find that Christ did clearly and strongly express his consciousness of his divine nature during his minority. If he did not always, or often publicly, express it, there were reasons for the reserve which need not here be specified. But we recall words like these: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;" "I and my Father are one;" "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me;" "Before Abraham was, I am." In short, despite all that is beyond our comprehension in the mysterious personality of Jesus Christ, we are not permitted by the Scriptures to think of him as self-emptied, during his earthly life, of the divine attributes or of the consciousness of his heavenly origin and nature. This will appear yet more strongly in the further discussion.

V.

But still the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε means something. And, with all that has been said about the mystery of the matter, it must be recognized that St. Paul did not write to the Philippians as though he were propounding an enigma, or simply naming a mystery upon which he could shed no light whatever. He not only declares the *kenosis*, but also, in some measure at least, defines it. He furnishes the best clew that can be found anywhere in the Scriptures for guiding reflection upon this subject. Other passages teaching the same reality have their varying measures of significance, but at no one point do we find such distinct statements as to the character of

our Lord's self-deprivation as in this famous passage from the great apostle. And this must help us in viewing the New Testament representations of Christ generally. The phrase "emptied himself" is central. It illuminates, and is illuminated by, the surrounding statements. Cannot we see how?

First, the self-emptying of the Son of God is here represented as for the sake of service. It was to the extent required by the service which he came to render as the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. It was to fit him for that very end, and not to render him unfit. Thus we read, "Who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize [or a thing to be grasped at] to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." Christ was in this world as the "servant" of God. He who "counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God" entered, with respect to the Father, into the lowly relation of a servant. He declared himself "sent" by the Father. He said, "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me;" "My Father is greater than I." He is also the servant of mankind. He came, "not to be ministered unto, but to minister," and even to give his life "a ransom for many." He said to his disciples, "I am among you as he that serveth."

Here, then, is something positive as to the sense in which the Son of God "emptied himself." Anyone who ponders the Gospel records—the best of all lives of Christ—must recognize something that calls for explanation in the way Christ manifested his divine qualities. There were flashings forth of the wisdom and power within him that startled all who beheld them. He himself appealed to his mighty works as credentials attesting his divine character and mission. But at the same time we find that Christ's exercise or use of these divine properties was in some way reduced. He acted in this respect under some law of limitation. And if we seek for that law we find it in his relation of "servant," in the love and self-sacrifice which had led to the complete acceptance of this as his earthly lot. He wrought miracles. But he wrought them always in loving service to others. This usually appeared upon the surface. But deeper than that was his great supreme service as Saviour, to which all his miracles were in one way or

another related. He had "emptied himself" to the extent of becoming "a servant." But still he remains able efficiently to serve. Thus, in the wilderness temptation he refused to "command" the stones to be "made bread." But he fed hungering thousands, though he must exercise creative power to do it. At Jacob's well he said to the woman of Samaria, "Give me to drink." At Cana of Galilee he made the water into wine. All through his ministry were works of divine power, but they were not for himself. At Calvary it was said, "He saved others, himself he cannot save." But in the garden, still to save others, he rose from the dead, though his resurrection was at the same time the beginning of his exaltation.

Was our Lord omniscient? We have seen how St. Paul, who declared that Christ "emptied himself," also declared that in him "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." But there is one passage (Mark xiii, 32) often cited to prove the opposite: "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." We cannot take space to consider the many interpretations and explanations that have been offered to make less difficult these words of Christ, explanations themselves, for the most part, not without great difficulty. Perhaps the distinction between the possession and the use also of this attribute of omniscience, to which some have held, may bring us nearest to the truth. May it not be true that the same law of service which marked Christ's use of his divine power governed also the exercise of his divine intelligence? If in the one case he lived wholly as a man, except when the putting forth of his heavenly power was essential for his work, and if his whole life was that of "a servant," so in the other may we not see him making himself one with us, while at the same time far above us, and all for the sake of service? Inexplicable, certainly! But was not this a part of our Lord's self-abasement and humiliation?

But, passing beyond this declaration of Christ, this acknowledgment of "nonomniscience" or "ignorance," as some have called it, and upon which they have laid such disproportionate stress, let us look at the positive declarations which Christ made as to the extent of his knowledge. Let it be

granted, if need be, that he did not know "the day nor the hour" of the last judgment, and that therein we see an indication of his self-deprivation, still we find him making many and the strongest claims to the possession of knowledge that is nothing less than divine. He knew, and made known to others, the realities necessary to salvation. He said, "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." Or, again, "If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things? And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." And, again, "O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee: but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. And I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it: that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them." Quotations might be multiplied, but in every case we see that the fullness of Christ's knowledge was at the service of his love. He neither exercises his omnipotence nor makes the disclosure of his omniscience for his own advantage or glory, but solely for the performance of his saving work among men. And this became him who had "emptied himself" and taken upon him "the form of a servant."

Secondly, the *kenosis* is represented in those words of St. Paul as the relinquishment of certain manifestations of being and character which belonged to Christ as the Son of God. He who "emptied himself" had existed "in the form of God." But after this self-abnegation he is "made in the likeness of men," and is "found in fashion as a man," or, as the apostle elsewhere (Rom. viii, 3) more definitely and strongly states, God sent "his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh." The contrast here relates to that which is phenomenal. It calls attention on the one hand to the disclosures of the divine being and majesty which are normal and appropriate to God in the midst of his intelligent creatures, and on the other to that veiling of the divine glory which came to pass when the Son of God came into a sinful world.

We are not permitted, as we have seen, to think of Christ

as one who never in his earthly life made any disclosures or manifestations of his divine nature. Some measure of manifestation was as necessary to his work as was the withholding. Not only did he make known at fitting times his heavenly power and knowledge, but he also claimed and exercised the divine prerogative of forgiving sins. And yet, when we reflect upon other and more general phases of that wonderful and mysterious life, we certainly find enough to vindicate the apostle's use of that particular phrase and to illustrate the meaning which he attaches to it. What the "form of God" was which the Son laid aside the apostle does not attempt to tell us. How God manifests himself to the inhabitants of the heavenly world we do not know. We read that he dwelleth "in the light which no man can approach unto." But the contrast is between this and the lack and opposite of this which marked the human appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ. He had lovingly relinquished the heavenly riches and glory, "the glory" he had with the Father "before the world was."

May not an illustration be found in the relation which our Lord sustained to the angels during his earthly sojourn? The angels are called "the heavenly host." They are ministers or servants of God. But the Son of God forsook the companionship of angels when he came to earth. True, when he was born the angels came—one with the great evangel, a multitude with the angel's song. Yet they came not for Christ's sake, but for the sake of the world. We read that after his temptation "angels came and ministered unto him." But we have no reason to think that he called for them. Ordinarily the companions of Jesus were men of like passions with ourselves. At that critical moment when his chosen ones were ready, though unconsciously, to forsake him, he said to Peter, "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" Thus he could have prayed, but he did not do it. And because it was a privilege that he had laid aside.

But the reality finds much broader illustration than this. Christ came to lead a human life, a life that was divine and human at the same time. And the human was as real as the divine. Our faith must embrace the whole of the great

"mystery of godliness." And when we look upon our Lord as the gospels describe him we see him "in fashion as a man." The "light which no man can approach unto" did not surround him. He was sinless, and is thus himself a greater miracle than all the miracles he wrought. But he submitted himself to the conditions of life in a sinful world. He was content for thirty years of his life to be unknown. He experienced, in a way we cannot fathom, the lot of mankind. He suffered weariness, hunger, pain, sorrow, disappointment, temptation, and death. And yet, withal, he was sustained by the consciousness of the divine. "I am not alone, because the Father is with me." "Thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee." Such was the *kenosis* as defined by St. Paul and illustrated by Gospel history.

VI.

The ethical bearings of the *kenosis* are presented with great force by the apostle. First, he brings forward the lesson of self-sacrificing love. Christ gave up all that could be relinquished because of love. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of satisfying the divine affection. Here is the love that "passeth knowledge." Hence it is that Christ is the supreme revelation of God. To what a great purpose the apostle applies this when he says, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus." For us also there is to be a self-emptying. It is not that of laying aside power or knowledge or anything else of abiding value, but that which is found in the self-denying and self-forgetting use of these things in the service of others. And what place is left for considerations of outward splendor or lofty position among the life motives of one that undertakes to follow him who "counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant?"

Secondly, the apostle teaches the lesson of obedience. Christ obeyed as a servant. He "became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." He was obedient in meeting every unique requirement that belonged to his mission as the Redeemer. He said, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass

from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." And his obedience at this point transcends all the boundaries of the requirements laid upon men, inasmuch as his work was that of the only Redeemer of mankind. But it is never to be forgotten that he trod also the pathway of purely human obedience. He became "like unto his brethren," in being subject to all the commands laid by God directly and indirectly upon mortals. It became him "to fulfill all righteousness." And thus in his emptying of himself he glorified not only divine love, but also divine law. This lesson the apostle also applies where he adds after this splendid passage, "Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling," and much besides in the same vein. We must not so interpret the love of Christ or the obedience of Christ as to lead us in any way to fancy that the commandments of God have become a dead letter for ourselves. The fact that at the best our righteousness is but relative and imperfect must not prevent our cherishing constantly the highest ideal of holiness. We are to admit no leaven of Antinomianism. For the *kenosis* shows us for our example not only love but also obedience.

The exaltation of Christ is presented by the apostle in connection with the *kenosis* as a necessary sequence or a divinely appropriate reward. "Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." And this also has for everyone who truly follows Christ its ethical suggestion of unspeakable promise.

Enoch McChesney.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

With this number the *Methodist Review* enters upon its eightieth volume. This is a record in which our Church may take a pardonable pride, since no other publication of its kind has been able to match that record. The *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which ranks next in age, is twenty-six years younger. The desirability of such a publication has been recognized in all denominations, and many have been projected and for a while sustained by other religious bodies; but in the course of time, longer or shorter, they have been discontinued for want of support. The *Methodist Review* will continue as long as there is a Methodist Episcopal Church. In the eighty years of its history twelve men have been its editors: Joshua Soule and Thomas Mason, John Emory and Beverly Waugh, Nathan Bangs, Samuel Luckey, George Peck, John McClintock, D. D. Whedon, Daniel Curry, J. W. Mendenhall; since 1893 the present incumbent.

In the first number, which was issued in January, 1818, the publishers and editors, J. Soule and T. Mason, in their introductory address gave the following urgent counsel, reproduced here because as pertinent and more important now than then: "Let parents consider it as a legacy for their posterity, and as soon as the last number for the year is received have the whole bound together and preserved." This advice was widely obeyed, and many complete sets of the *Review* from the beginning until now are in existence, some of them in the libraries of our institutions of learning, and others in private possession. No one of our theological schools, colleges, or seminaries should be without a complete set; and we suggest to individuals possessing such sets that, if the time comes when there is no better use for them, or when it is desired to place them where they will be fully valued, perpetually preserved, and constantly useful, such owners will do well to present them to some one of our colleges or other institutions of learning. The uniformly bound set now in the possession of the present editor is destined ultimately to the library of a Methodist college. Persons desiring to complete

broken sets, by obtaining by purchase or by exchange the volumes or numbers which are lacking, may perhaps secure some assistance from Rev. J. C. Thomas, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

The proposition to examine the Bible just as we would any other book may be right or wrong, according to the meaning. If the application of methods similar to those used in the study of other literature is meant, it may be all right; but if it refers to the spirit in which the study is pursued, it is certainly all wrong. Few will deny that Samuel Taylor Coleridge was one of the sovereigns of religious thought in England in his day; nor is he a spent force even now. The candid yet reverent spirit in which he approached and handled the Bible is worth recalling. Rejecting as entirely untenable the old rabbinical notion of an infallible text which requires verbal inspiration by literal dictation, he declared that the Scriptures should be studied in the light of their growth and development and the interadaptation of their different parts, and have the benefit of all methods, analytic, synthetic, or historical, which contribute to intelligible and correct interpretation. Yet every moment he held the Bible high above all other books as a divinely inspired body of literature, containing in its organic unity of substance a coherent, authentic, authoritative, and sufficient revelation of things beyond human discovery and necessary to salvation. Entering on the searching and critical study of the holy book, he says: "I take up this work with the purpose to read it for the first time as I would read any other work—as far as I can or dare. For I neither can nor dare throw off a strong and awful prepossession in its favor—certain as I am that a large part of the life and light in and by which I see, love, and embrace the truths and the strengths coorganized into a living body of faith and knowledge has been directly or indirectly derived to me from this sacred volume."

COMPROMISE VERDICTS IN MURDER CASES.

The law of change—growth or decay—is at work in all human institutions, and constantly at work. We speak of China as a country where custom is hardened into rigid uniformities; but even in China the observant foreigner sees custom bending as fine steel bends, slowly, almost imperceptibly, except at long

intervals of observation, but yielding to the weight of new conditions.

The most Chinalike institution among us is perhaps the jury. It is old, and it is almost reverenced. We can hardly imagine American life without the jury. The majority of us complain of it more or less, as Italian peasants reproach their favorite saints; and still we love it, and intend to preserve it and hand it down to the coming generations. And yet insensible changes in the jury are going on, and, after a decade or two, the observer perceives that this institution has yielded to some pressure—an optimist would say that a wholesome growth has gone forward in such silence as surrounds the growth of a forest oak.

Two of these changes are very conspicuous. One of them is the unwritten rule that a jury will acquit a murderer if they believe that the victim was guilty of an offense toward the slayer's womankind. The plainest proof of malice and premeditation will not stagger a jury in such a case; they will say, "Not guilty, your honor," as religiously as they say their prayers. The unwritten rule is so imperious that in a large majority of such murder cases legal authority makes no effort to bring the manslayers to trial, because it is known that the jury will not convict any man who kills to avenge family dishonor.

The other change is more recent and, in some ways, more dangerous. The danger, in the first case, is large enough, but there is a certain logic in the proceeding, and the larger danger may be escaped—frequency of homicides and false pretexts for murder. The greatest peril of lynch law is that it may hang the wrong man; the avenger of family dishonor may more frequently shoot the wrong man, or shoot him for other reasons than those the jury accepts.

In the second change of jury method the element of unreasonableness is a large one, and modern society dislikes the unreasonable, and becomes impatient with the unreason. The jury of recent years has developed a habit of convicting men of murder because the accused have fallen under grave suspicion, and are not able to remove it, the evidence of guilt being insufficient to remove all reasonable doubt. Here enters the innovation; the "twelve good men" cannot agree; and they "compromise." If he were guilty the murderer should be sentenced to death—that is the law; if he were innocent he should be given his liberty. Since he is neither innocent nor guilty in the

"composite" mind of the jury he is condemned to imprisonment for a term of years. In cases striking enough to command national attention the lawyers for the State have boldly asked for such verdicts, after presenting proof of murder in the first degree—of bloody crimes marked by the most shocking atrocity.

In our journalistic age the jury must give an account of itself after its work is done; and in two national trials of last year the twelve good men in each case made history. The Chicago sausage-maker's trial was fully reported—more than reported; a novelist bearing a great name wrote a novel in daily chapters in the court room for the columns of a yellow journal in New York, and easily convicted the prisoner at the bar. The jury found the task more difficult. Three of the twelve believed the sausage-maker guilty of a murder more atrocious than that committed by Professor Webster half a century ago; three believed him innocent; six were in doubt. The twelve struggled together for several days to agree upon a compromise verdict—sentence for a term of years. The three who believed in the innocence of the prisoner refused to compromise, and no verdict was reached. In a Wisconsin case, a month later, the jury agreed in a few hours upon a compromise verdict—a few years in prison for an atrocious murder.

The compromise verdict in criminal cases is a bold assault on the first principle of Anglo-Saxon law, which rests on the solid base of the excluded middle. An accused person is guilty or he is innocent. The Anglo-American principle requires that the guilt be proved beyond all reasonable doubt. The verdicts of the compromise order are based upon "reasonable doubt." They break through the solid wall of our judicial theory; they punish men for being neither guilty nor innocent. They put the jury system to shame.

The compromise verdict came first into civil cases, and is thoroughly established in that field. Probably ninety per cent of all cases about money, debts, and claims for things are decided by compromise. The evil of it has become so great that many, perhaps most, thoughtful people are willing to dispense with juries in civil cases. It appears, however, that the same rottenness has invaded the criminal branch of the jury. The worst part of this offensive innovation is that men who delight in calling themselves "practical" defend the evil thing. It is so difficult, they allege, to persuade twelve men to agree about

anything that a compromise verdict is often the only possible verdict—and murder trials are very expensive. But the law requires twelve men to agree that a prisoner at the bar is guilty or not guilty. The smashing of the excluded middle may be for the moment "practical;" so for a moment any crime may be practical. In the long result the excluded middle will be found free from the smallest fracture; but something else may be found broken fine in what the ancients called "the mills of the gods."

PSYCHOLOGY FOR THE PASTOR.

The pastor is a spiritual physician. In essentially the same sense in which the medical practitioner heals a bodily disease the pastor cures the sinsick soul. Both must proceed on the basis of sound theory, accurate diagnosis, and appropriate remedy. What the study of the human body with the laws of its health is to the physician the study of the human soul is to the minister.

From this point of view we wish, in a kindly spirit, to offer a suggestion for the curricula of our theological seminaries. The medical school gives large space to the study of the body under conditions both of health and disease. The school of theology gives almost no corresponding attention to the study of the soul.

The force of this observation will perhaps be more fully realized by the mention of some of the uses which the pastor has for a thorough knowledge of psychology. First of all may be mentioned the influence which a scientific and comprehensive knowledge of the soul would have upon doctrinal views and statements. These have hitherto been formed under the guidance of systematic theology, whose method of procedure must be such as to satisfy the demands of the philosophic faculties in point of completeness and logical order and consistency. Given the premises, it insists on the correctness of its deductions. It would stultify itself did it proceed otherwise. In its anthropological, as distinguished from its strictly theological deliverances, it employs somewhat more the inductive method, though even here it does not sufficiently deal with the real psychological problems involved. Nor is this a censurable defect. Why should there not be, along with systematic theology, another branch, known as pastoral psychology?

Nor is the case much better for biblical in distinction from systematic theology. Biblical theology does indeed employ the inductive method, but its materials are principally the abstract and general utterances of the Scripture writers, who, if they based their anthropological and soteriological teachings upon an analysis of human conduct, have given us none, or very little, of this analysis, but rather its results. Within the limit of the scriptural utterances on these topics there is room for a psychological analytic which would marvelously clarify some of the Scripture doctrines, while the deductions of systematic theology would not only be clarified but also modified thereby. Particularly is this true for the doctrines of sin and salvation. Even such meager use of psychological facts as has been made in the statement of Christian doctrine has resulted in much good. For example, the dispute between the synergist and the monergist is one concerning the psychological factors necessarily involved. In other words, it has recognized, though very imperfectly, the need of a doctrine of soteriology suited to the being to be saved, and in so far has come nearer to the truth.

A case in point is the conception of sin. How vague, not to say incorrect, are the ordinary statements of that doctrine, simply because sin is dealt with in the abstract, rather than as a concrete act, or as an empirical condition of a human being! Sin involves the three psychological elements of intelligence, emotion, and will, either singly or in combination. These are exhaustive of the whole matter; but who that understands the human heart can fail to recognize how inadequate the analysis is? Let us take up the last of the three elements by way of illustration. It aids marvelously in the definition of a sinful act when it is made to consist wholly in a volition. The physical activities accompanying the volition are not the sinful elements, although they alone may produce the evil effects which attend the acts outside of the sinner. But when we have thought of a sinful act as a volition we must go further back and reflect that it was preceded by a condition of a will, which was sinful before it put forth the volition in question. This still further clarifies our conception of this specific sin; but we must press the inquiry still further and ask what we mean by a sinful will. A variety of concepts are included in the expression, and we may have determined in the given case that the sinfulness consists in the fact that the will was deliberately opposed to God's will. This is a

very common expression, but it too is vague, and again demands a psychological study of the condition of a man of whom such a thing could be truthfully said. Analysis will show that it involves: 1. Action in the light of intelligent reflection ; 2. Defiance of God ; 3. Self-will ; 4. Settled and fixed, or determined and persevering opposition to the purposes of God. The very wickedness of such a state should make us cautious lest we wrongly attribute it to anyone. But should we be compelled in any case to regard anyone as in the condition described, still we are not done with our analysis. We must still ask, How was it possible? What other powers of the soul are necessarily involved? Here we come again to the parting of the ways. For we must settle the question whether one is in such a state with the concurrence or contrary to his judgment as to its wisdom. Having settled this, we must also remember that it must be in accord with his predominant feelings. But the *feelings!* What a vague because what a comprehensive term! Here again, then, we must differentiate. Suppose the act to have been a theft, and to be the result of a deliberate opposition to God's will. Then the predominant feeling with which it was in accord might have been a desire to contravene God's will, or it might have been merely a supreme desire for the possession of the article stolen, or it might have been a deadness of the moral impulse to honesty, etc.

These are the barest limits as to the psychological analysis of a single phase of the single fact of sin. For a definition of sin as a fact to be reckoned with in philosophy or systematic theology such an analysis may not be necessary ; but it is necessary to the definition of sin which the pastor needs. For the pastor's theology must be one which shall aid him in dealing with the individual human beings under his pastoral care ; and a definition of sin which will meet the demands of broader thought may be wholly inadequate to the cure of souls.

All this trenches upon the second advantage the pastor would gain by the possession of a full and accurate knowledge of psychology, namely, that of knowing the actual condition of each member of his flock. It is not sufficient for the pastor to know human nature, although this is essential. The knowledge of human nature is a knowledge of those traits which are common to all. This is no more adequate to the needs of the pastor than a knowledge of the general physical powers and ailments of

humanity is sufficient for the physician. The medical man must know the peculiar combinations of physical condition in each individual patient. The pastor ought to be as skillful in spiritual as the physician is in physical diagnosis. There is an anatomy and physiology of the soul as truly as of the body, and the laws of the soul's health are as well defined as those of the body. Yet the pastor who is to give advice concerning the soul is often profoundly ignorant even of human nature, to say nothing of the psychology of the individual. Is it too much to say that the man who cannot discover the exact abnormality of a soul would be as unfit to deal with that soul as a physician would be who could not locate the source of physical disease or the organ or function which is deranged, or determine the nature of the disorder?

The brief discussion of sin from the standpoint of psychology given above furnishes an instance of the complexity and variety of the difficulties with which the pastor has to do. It is not enough for him to know sin as it is portrayed in systems of theology; he must know it as it appears in each individual. Otherwise he cannot deal skillfully with its varied manifestations. He ought also to know accurately the degree or measure of salvation already attained by every member of his flock, and the possibilities of grace, not as determined by the power of God, but as limited by the capacity of each individual; or at least he ought to have the qualifications for ascertaining all these things, on condition that the members make him their pastor in fact as well as in name. The pastor has to deal with individuals who are affected by hopes and fears, passions and aspirations, joys and sorrows. He should be able to estimate each and all of these in their relation to the divine life and the development of the Christian personality. He should know how to repress, guide, develop, or employ these traits for the good of the individual in whom they are found, and for the welfare of the kingdom of God. He can do this only as he can delve into the secrets of the human soul by the methods known to psychology. Nor should this knowledge and skill be left to chance for their acquisition. Every school of theology ought to provide regular, wise, and systematic instruction in this department. Is it not as absurd that it is not so as that a school of medicine should not give most careful instruction in anatomy and physiology?

A third aspect of the case is the aid it would be to the pastor

in his relations to his people. What is it that determines the choice and treatment of themes in the pulpit generally? First and foremost, with many, their drawing qualities. It is true that we must have the people before we can preach to them. But though we please the people immensely and draw great crowds of them, and have not a keen insight into their spiritual condition, or, having it, are unable to meet it, we shall profit them nothing. The second group of facts which determine the preachers' themes and treatment is, on the one hand, the system of theology, and, on the other, the contents of the Bible. How often we find ministers preaching series of sermons on doctrinal points chiefly, if not solely, for the satisfaction it gives themselves! Or because the truth is taught in the Bible and it is interesting to the preacher, how often it is chosen for the topic of the sermon! And it is a blessed and fortunate provision of divine mercy that any religious truth will do a right-minded person good. But the truth he needs would do him more good. The pastor who employs a true psychological analysis and generalization will soon discover what truth the people need.

A further practical advantage which the psychological method would afford the pastor is that it would furnish him what by nature he cannot have, that is, a sure and accurate knowledge of human motives and conditions, thus giving him a mastery over individuals and congregations not otherwise possible. There come, in the exercise of pastoral duties, emergent moments when a quick and sure insight into the heart of an individual, or the spirit of an assembly, will enable the pastor to turn defeat into victory. He needs the quick and unerring judgment alike in dealing with the impenitent, the penitent, and the regenerate. In times of revival he must know how, as well as have the physical and intellectual strength, to turn the tide toward success. By this constant attention to the psychological conditions of individuals and congregations one generalizes at last certain infallible laws by which he not only may but must be governed. He also acquires a discernment of the need of the hour which is almost as swift as intuition, and which has all the validity of a judgment founded upon reflection. Unless these things are inborn they can be acquired only by psychological methods; and even if they are inborn these methods will heighten and perfect their usefulness.

By such means the pastor becomes a true physician of souls.

THE ARENA.

CHRISTIAN FAITH, PSYCHOLOGICALLY CONSIDERED.

FAITH is the dynamic agency of all moral activity. In commerce, in mercantile pursuit, in industry, in history, as well as in religion, faith is ever "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Society without faith would be like the universe without gravitation. This faith, which we may call general faith, is in its effect always proportional to its intensity. Weak faith promises but little, makes light investments, and is slow to act; but strong faith invests heavily, promises largely, and is buoyant. But what gives faith this fluctuation? It is the variant conviction held with respect to the objects of faith. Faith, therefore, as founded upon observation and experience, is the soul's confidence grounded upon evidence; that is, it is the assent of the mind to a proposition based upon testimony. This is the definition of faith, psychologically considered, in its general phase, and in its mental and statical characteristic as distinguished from its practical and dynamical expression in moral life. Really, we ought to style the mental and statical characteristic of faith "belief," and when this belief passes over into the practical and dynamic, then "faith" should be the term to express distinguishingly such result. Faith is thus seen to have three elements—evidence, belief, and action—wherein evidence is the basis of belief and belief is the basis of action. Psychology, however, would exclude action from its consideration. This, then, limits our subject to evidence and belief. Hence the definition above is strictly psychological, because it adheres purely to the phenomena of the soul.

Christian faith, then, psychologically considered, must be the soul's confidence in Christ grounded upon evidence. This is confessedly the crucial point of the Gospel. As the German theologians say, it is the *Durchgangspunkt*, the going-through-point, of "the kingdom of heaven." Still, we must not forget that from the standpoint of inherent beauty and eternity Paul rightly says, "And the greatest of these is love." Yet love is not faith, neither is faith love, psychologically speaking. Theologically, "faith, hope, love," together with works, all combine in harmonious blending in every true Christian, and are the perennial efflorescences of our earth-life. Faith, however, readily yields a distinct psychological treatment. Paul in his treatment of faith, especially in Rom. iii, is psychological, while James is practical. Each, however, includes the other by implication. Paul would say that it is psychological faith that saves, which, of course, issues into all good works, and is the efficient prerequisite of them. James would say that it is practical faith that saves, which, indeed, presupposes and demands psychological faith. Paul's faith is, therefore, pure psychic faith, and is the procuring cause

of salvation; but the faith of James is a mixed manual faith, and is the resultant cause of salvation.

Heb. xi, 1, is rather a practical or objective expression of faith than a definition psychologically treated; for such a definition would properly involve the act of the soul at the instance of faith. This act of the soul, which we call faith, is really triple in its nature, being intellectual, emotional, and volitional. On its purely intellectual side faith means belief both in the existence of the Christ of our thought and in the correspondence between the thought and its object, Christ. In other words, it means belief in the historical Christ. In this consideration two elements are distinguishable, first, the assent, and, second, the object of assent. The former, being the pure act of the soul, is strictly a psychological element, and is called a subjective element; but the latter is the material of faith, the objective element. Two questions, indeed, express the same distinction—How does one believe? and, What does he believe? This intellectual element of faith presupposes, and is founded upon, evidence; for faith without evidence is credulity. As evidence may be variant, so faith may be of different degrees of intensity. A little evidence may, however, be about as damaging as no evidence; but complete evidence lifts the soul up above all skepticism. If "a little learning is a dangerous thing," surely a little evidence must be dangerous too; but "drinking largely sobers us again," and so evidence full and clear bring us to our faith. Uncertainty, doubt, hesitation, fear, and confidence, trust, and readiness, all express the variableness of faith on its intellectual side. Evidence, and evidence only, can satisfy genuine faith. Hence the Church must not hesitate to meet this psychological demand of the times; but she must enter the arena of evidence if she would convict her intellectual opponent and bear him on her shield to the faith of Calvary.

But the faith of the Gospel involves more than simply intellectual assent. a *thinking to* a thing. It is also a consent, a *thinking with*, wherein the "con" or "with" suggests the entire cooperation of the soul, without which faith is dead—a dead orthodoxy, the bane and barrenness of much of our Church life to-day. The true psychology of Christian faith has three elements, mind, feeling, and will; that is, the true believer knows, feels, and wills the object of his faith, Jesus Christ. Dead orthodoxy emphasizes the intellectual phase of faith, merely assenting to, but not consenting with, Christ as the Son of God, thereby overlooking or disregarding emotion and volition. Many ministers, on the other hand, give prominence to the emotional element only, and hence are not real teachers of the faith. This, surely, is a defect much to be deplored and execrated. It gives rise to much ephemeral religion, post-revival stagnation, and pernicious backsliding, and, besides all this, to many strange religious notions, conscientious stickling, whims, and imprudent conduct. Knowledge must be the basis of emotion. The Roman Catholics emphasize the volitional element, and thus educe only a meritorious, pharisaical legalism. Among Protestants it becomes morality instinct

with individualism and selfishness. Knowledge must also be the basis of volition.

But Christian faith is psychologically perfect only when the intellectual and emotional and volitional elements are conjoined in working harmony. This means that the entire inner man is given over to faith; that is, faith is not a local but a general function of the soul. The intellect insures to us the truth as it is in Christ; the emotion furnishes the force, the feeling, the energy; and the will sets things in motion. The intellectual fuel, touched by the fire of emotion, generates into the heated steam of emotional energy, while the throttle of the will opens the way to the cylinder of practical Christianity. Christian faith, therefore, knows Christ in his word, feels him in its love, and obeys him in its will.

While Scripture makes wide use of the word "heart," we must not understand it to mean simply the seat of emotion, but, in a broader sense, the whole inner self, the *I*, "the hidden man of the heart," "the inner man," "the inward parts," the soul. "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness." Here "the heart" means the combined activity of mind, feeling, and will. This view is not only scriptural but is in scientific harmony with practical reason.

The practical reason of all this is quite apparent. The intellectual element keeps faith free from fanaticism and superstition; for fanaticism is wild unreasonableness, and superstition is the taking of faith beyond its true boundary, the believing of that which is without foundation. Fanaticism is faith—so called—gone mad with frenzied zeal, while superstition is faith gone ignorant. Bigotry and intolerance are also driven out of faith by this same element, whose prime use is to discover the truth and hand it over to our emotion and will to be aroused and vitalized. The intellect helps us to be prudent, cautious, and intelligent in our ways and actions. It keeps us from throwing "pearls before swine," and will see that "all things be done decently and in order." It will bring us into close contact with God's words, that we may understand his mind. By it we are to "search the Scriptures," to "hold fast the form of sound words," "rightly dividing the word of truth." An uninstructed intellect dwarfs and misdirects our faith, confuses the essential with the nonessential, suppresses common sense, and leads to all manner of vagaries. Faith as confidence demands that the intellect produce evidence which is relevant and convincing. The evidence, however, is wide and varied. It may be biblical, historical, philosophical, or scientific, according to the peculiar setting of the particular mind.

Emotion under the direction of truth gives faith fervor, love, sympathy, vitality, without which faith would be but "sounding brass." It leads to handshaking and to all the innumerable host of social duties. Without it we have formality, ceremonialism, and coldness. A stove, however beautifully filled with coal and ornamented, is of no good to those shivering with cold; but set fire to the coal, and the stove will then give

warmth to all that are in the room, and the stove, too, is warmth to itself. Intellectualism, however scientific and philosophic in its thought—embellished, indeed, with all the art and finish of logic and rhetoric—is yet poor comfort to the aching and bleeding heart bowed down with sin or grief; but if the virtues of emotion, especially love, be ingrafted, how suddenly new life springs up, ladened with joy and hope!

Lastly, the will, under the influence of intellect and emotion, gives faith its obedience to the will of God. Without will, intellectual insight and emotional feelings are valueless. To know and feel our duty fully is not duty done. It is only when we will to do our duty that faith becomes perfect. Theory and practice must never be divorced.

The reflex action of will upon emotion and of emotion upon intellect must not be overlooked, for it is a significant feature of our faith; and when the will, pressed by intellect and emotion to do its duty, surrenders—wills—it sends a thrill of energy back through the entire soul, yea, throughout the physical organism, thus adding to the capacity and fervor of mind and feeling. "If any man willeth to do his will he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God." H. Jos. Black.

Evansville, Ind.

A SHORT STUDY IN SUBSTANCE.

There is being. Realities exist. They present themselves to us under two essential features, substance and attribute. They are the union of these two. There can be no substance without attribute and no attribute without substance, though the mind can carry a notion of attributes not concrete in substance, but cannot conceive of substance apart from all attributes. Substance is the unknown reality which "stands under" attributes. It is the same under all conditions; it persists through all phenomena, and hence, as Samuel Harris says, it could with equal propriety be called "persistence." It is the base of all power or causation; that is, every cause is found, and every effect is manifested, in substance. All changes in the world or the universe are manifestations of the attributes residing in substance. Attributes are the phenomena which substance presents. They are the proofs to us of its existence. We know substance only through them. We can discern several distinct kinds, and must therefore conclude that there are several distinct kinds of substance.

In distinguishing them we proceed with reference to the highest attribute of being, which is intelligence. By this test all substances are either intelligent or nonintelligent; or, according to the old distinction, either matter or mind. Locke divides all being into cogitative and incogitative; or those with, and those without, the power to think. He then subdivides the former into two kinds, God and finite mind. But the latter he leaves all together as "bodies." He thus makes three kinds of substance. The recent progress of scientific and biblical thought seems to require a more complete classification of nonintelligent substance. Instead of leaving it all together as bodies, or matter, it should be divided

according to its distinct classes of attributes. Such a division, beginning with the lowest, would, perhaps, be something like the following:

(1) Matter. This is the grossest of all forms of substance, or the most sensuous substance of all being. It is the world of physical attributes, such as form, size, weight, color, molecular constitution, and subjection to chemical and mechanical laws.

(2) Ether. Just above crude matter, and mysteriously enswathing it, is a strange something which fills all space, both where matter is and where it is not; which interpenetrates all matter, and is not affected by matter; which is not subject to mechanical and chemical laws; which is imponderable and uncompoundable with the elements of matter; which exerts no influence, has no affinities; which is a simple substance, made of distinct and separated particles. It is the medium for the conveyance of light and electricity, or may possibly be near akin to electricity, as it has just been discovered to be a medium for telegraphing without wires. Because of such properties it cannot be classified with matter. Substance being the generic term, and matter the subordinate, it is substance but not matter, ethereal, not material, substance.

(3) Life. This we mention only because there are some who hold that in the plant there is an entity above the atoms of which it is composed; that the phenomena of life must have more than a purely physical basis; and that in the death of the plant the substance which was the ground of the life phenomena has departed.

(4) The resurrection body. There is a substance of which much less has been said than might have been by speculative Christian thought. We mean that of which the resurrection bodies of the saints will be composed. The Scriptures tell us plainly they are "spiritual" and "incorruptible," and the whole tenor of revelation is that they are not material bodies such as we now have; but it describes them in such terms as require them to be put in a distinct class. They are composed of substance, but not material substance; the only name we have for them is "a spiritual body." Inasmuch as we now have souls and bodies, and after the resurrection are still to have them, and as our future life is to be spent similarly to the angels, we may safely infer that the angels now have bodies composed of like immaterial substance. Tait and Stewart, in their highly interesting book, *The Unseen Universe*, seem to suggest that the ether is the substantial organism of all the higher intelligences. These four classes of substance belong to the nonintelligent order.

Of the intelligent order there seem to be three classes:

(1) Animal, or sentient, life. The horse is more than chemical atoms or chemical processes. It has life, but a kind of life that cannot be classified with the plant; hence there must be a substance within it which is the ground of the new phenomena. There cannot be phenomena or attributes without a corresponding substance. This substance is sentient life, or animal soul, and is that which is recognized by trichotomists in their tripartite view of man.

(2) Finite spirit. Man exhibits phenomena which do not belong to the physical world nor to the animal soul. He must therefore be endowed, or rather himself be a substance, higher than the animal. That substance is an immortal spirit, endowed with self-consciousness, intellect, sensibility, will—a genuine personality, a conscious individuality. The human soul, as it is usually called, is a substance, but not material or animal, and belongs to the higher class of intelligent substances, personalities. To this class also belong the angels in heaven; and we know not how many grades of created intelligences there are. Locke's remark that there are probably many species of spirits is borne out by the Scriptures, wherein mention is made of angels, archangels, principalities, powers, seraphim, and cherubim.

(3) God. Highest of all substances is the person of God. We find in him a class of phenomena found nowhere else. He is infinite, omnipotent, all-wise, holy, unchangeable, eternal, self-existent. His word says all these attributes dwell in a truly spiritual substance. "God is a spirit," not an imaginary, unsubstantial fiction of the brain, but genuine substance, the only true reality, the underived essence out of which all other being springs.

We have thus found seven classes of substance, each based upon a distinct class of attributes. Four of them are nonintelligent and three intelligent. Yet it is hard to decide in which to place the animal soul. To call it intelligent is to make it immortal, and so it may be. To make it mortal we must place it in the list of nonintelligent things, and that seems hard to do. We believe that that which is intelligent is immortal, and that which is not intelligent is temporal.

A further thought, not entirely worthless, perhaps, in its speculative cast, presents itself. Is there a divine alchemy by which one kind of substance may be changed into another? We may readily grant the unlikelihood of any change across the line between the intelligent and nonintelligent, as also between the finite and the infinite, since the character of their different attributes makes it seem unthinkable. But is it improbable that there may be transformations between the several classes of nonintelligent substances? Thus, we know that angels have from time to time appeared in human form; that is, their angelic bodies have become human bodies. Or, if that be hardly conceded, then we may say that, after his resurrection, the body of Christ was subject to the laws of matter or was above them, as his will. Just as matter now assumes the solid, liquid, or gaseous form, according to its conditions, may we not reasonably suppose that it can be transmuted into an entirely different form by the divine will, for the accomplishment of his higher purposes? May we not thus obtain a suggestion as to the nature of the resurrection body? May it not be the sublimated form of the gross matter, in whole or in part, with which our souls are encumbered in this life? This would surely be along the line of evolution which is observable in so many ways in this world. Is there not a higher correlation of substances that

includes the grossest and the most refined nonintelligences? At bottom may there not be but one nonintelligent substance, though from the limitations of our present observation we are not able clearly to stand in thought or sensible assurance where we can make the sublime synthesis of its threefold forms? E. A. Hoyt.

Wellington, Kan.

"THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT."

The writer of the article bearing the above title, in the last number of the *Review*, utters many excellent thoughts, but in my opinion mars his paper by some dogmatic and exceedingly loose and sweeping statements. "He [Dr. Miley] assumes, or affirms, that the fact is that the vicarious sufferings of Jesus Christ are the grounds of forgiveness and salvation, thus putting a doctrine for a fact," etc. Now, as a matter of fact, whatever may be our theories of the atonement, the whole trend of Scripture supports this position of Dr. Miley. One is forced to take the unwarrantable position of our author that sacrifices originated with man and are altogether a mistake and blunder; or he must sustain the affirmation that the sufferings of Jesus on the cross are the grounds of forgiveness and salvation. These sacrifices are so inseparably related to Christ as type and antitype—that is, the scapegoat or the passover lamb—that they must be demonstrated to be human only, or the necessity of Christ's death on the cross as our substitute be conceded. Peter affirms: "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; . . . but with the precious blood of Christ. . . . Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed." The writer of Hebrews declares: "But Christ being come a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God? . . . And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission." Paul also writes, "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." At least, then, this may be said, Miley in this utterance and the Bible stand or fall together.

Again, the writer of the article says, "How sacrifices came to be instituted as a transaction between God and man there is no information in Holy Writ." How anyone who is a careful reader of the Bible could write this it is hard to explain. In Exod. xx, 22–24, we find it written:

"And the Lord said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make with me gods of silver, neither shall ye make unto you gods of gold. An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." Let the reader also see Lev. viii, 1–17, 36; also chapter xvi, with a multitude of other instances. The author of Hebrews affirms in chapter viii: "For if he [Christ] were on earth, he should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests that offer gifts according to the law: who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things, as Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: for, See, saith he, that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount." Now, if these quotations are "Holy Writ," then we are informed "how sacrifices came to be instituted." But will it be affirmed that "instituted" means originated, and that there were sacrifices prior to Moses? If so, we reply that such an indorsement as was given by Abel's accepted offering and by the specified tabernacle sacrifices cannot be adequately explained except by the conjecture that Abel, as well as Moses, was duly "admonished" how to offer sacrifices acceptably to God. If then the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Hebrews are "Holy Writ," the Scripture certainly does inform us how sacrifices were instituted.

Again, the writer says, "It is and ever will be an open question, Will man be one with God?" Can our author have ever read Heb. viii, 10, 11? This passage declares, "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: and they shall not teach every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest." Surely, this is convincing Scripture.

Again, does our author intend to affirm that, because Christ had not as yet come in the flesh when Nineveh was forgiven, therefore Christ and his sacrifice had no relation to that event? If so, what are we to understand by the words of John, "The lamb slain from the foundation of the world?" Or what does Paul mean when he declares, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past?" And, again, "Who hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began?" Or in what did the "Gospel" which was "preached before . . . unto Abraham," and by which he was saved, differ from the message of Jonah to the Ninevites? Or how are we to understand the words of the Master, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad?" Does Peter

affirm that God had "forgiven sins time and again without" reference to the blood of Christ, when he says, "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved?" HENRY G. BILBIE.

Owatonna, Minn.

"THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT."

THE criticism of my paper, "The Function of Doubt," by Rev. Robert Watt, is interesting reading. It is clear and forcible, and proves many of the things the writer sets out to prove. It also proves what perhaps the writer did not intend, namely, that he has entirely missed the purpose of the paper in question. It is not my purpose to explain phenomena, but to consider certain effects of these phenomena. The paper is not a panacea for doubt, but an examination of the "function of doubt." It was therefore written from the standpoint of the doubter. Perhaps this prospectus should have been announced, but the writer of the paper had so much faith in the literary acumen of his readers that he relied upon the title to indicate his purpose.

My critic disputes many of the phenomena cited, and naïvely wonders why I did not explain others. As for the first, it is a question of fact and perception. It is impossible to show these phenomena to those who do not perceive them; indeed, it would be little less than unkind to disturb their innocent simplicity. As for the second controversy—my lack of explanation—let me say that if I had been writing for a Sunday school paper my course would have been different. I had in mind an audience that had passed the catechumenate. However, if Brother Watt really feels that it is not safe to turn my article loose upon the readers of the *Review* without his *index expurgatorius*, it is all right. I accept his explanations, though to be sure some of them are deliciously elementary and remind one of the days of his theological apprenticeship; and I am willing to incorporate them as footnotes, anodyne and prophylactic, barring, of course, his expletives, with which I decline to fellowship.

It is refreshing, for instance, to hear again the venerable statement that sin is the cause of death and all disorders, in these days when biologists are following the Ariadne clew back to the "isolated cells" of Maupas, and are finding there the introduction of death side by side with the introduction of sex. It is like the days of langsyne to have the distinction between God's permissive and his operative providence so impressively set forth. To be sure, this matter was settled in the early days of the old Calvinistic controversy, but the sight of the timeworn arguments brings back a thousand recollections. It is also reassuring to be told with so much eclat that the four epistles of St. Paul are universally accepted as genuine, albeit I did not know there had been any dissent since the days of Christian Baur, in 1851.

I am not an infidel, despite the pious ejaculations of our good brother, but

I am not sure what I might become if we had nothing better than the class-room methods of fifty years ago. Great are the epicycles of Ptolemaus!

Akron, O. JOHN H. WILLEY.

A WORD ABOUT GEORGE ELIOT.

THE strained efforts of some evangelical writers, who are extravagant admirers of George Eliot, to cast a veil over her practical relation to the seventh commandment, are, to put it mildly, most unseemly, and to put it frankly, most demoralizing in effect. If Victoria, Queen of England and Empress of India, has benefited society, as is properly proclaimed, by her spotless domestic purity, how glaring by contrast was the mistake of George Eliot, a woman far more queenly in her natural endowments, when she turned away from the divine law as taught by Christ and gave the influence of her example to the antichristian domestic theory! Like all others, this confessedly extraordinary woman can be great only when she is right; and right must be measured by the standards set and sanctioned by Him of whom the soldiers said, "Never man spake like this man."

We are unable to see how anyone can help agreeing with the just words which one of her own countrymen has written concerning her: "Religion to George Eliot is not an inner power of divine mystery, awakening the conscience. It is at best an intellectual exercise, or a scenic picture, or a beautiful memory. Her early evangelicalism peeled off from her like an outer garment, leaving behind only a rich vein of dramatic experience which she afterward worked into her novels. There is no evidence of her great change having produced in her any spiritual regret or anxiety. There is nothing, indeed, in autobiography more wonderful than the facility with which this remarkable woman parted first with her faith and then with the moral sanctions which do so much to consecrate life, while yet constantly idealizing life in her letters, and taking such a large grasp of many of its moral realities. Her skepticism and then her eclectic humanitarianism have a certain poignancy and elevation unlike vulgar infidelity of any kind. There are gleams of a higher life everywhere in her thought. There is much self-distrust, but no self-abasement. There is a strange externality, as if the Divine had never come near to her, save by outward form or picture—never pierced to any dividing asunder of soul and spirit. Amid all her sadness—and her life upon the whole is a very sad one—there are no depths of spiritual dread—of which dramatically, as in *Romola*, she had yet a vivid conception—or even of spiritual tenderness. We do not look to minds of this stamp, into which the arrows of conscience make only slight wounds, for a true estimate of Christianity, either in its divine character or origin. The spiritual side of Christianity, with its sense of sin and revelation of divine pity and forgiveness, was unfelt by her."

Torrington, Conn. JOHN RIPPERE.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HISTORY AND METHODS OF ITINERANTS' CLUBS.

Origin and Progress. In our issue for January, 1890, Bishop Vincent drew the following excellent pen picture of the origin of this great movement: "At the closing session of the Dakota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Huron, S. Dak., last October (1889), the presiding bishop invited to the front the four classes of undergraduates. The young men 'admitted on trial' took the first seat. On the second sat the class 'continued on trial.' Behind these were the 'deacons of the first class;' and on the last seat the 'seniors' of the Conference—the 'deacons of the second class.' The secretary was then requested to read the names of the 'Conference examiners' for the incoming year, including the examiners of candidates for 'admission on trial' in the fall of 1890. All these, members of the Conference 'faculty,' at the request of the bishop occupied places on the platform. The 'class of the first year' and their examiners then stood up and were introduced to each other. The other classes were in the same way permitted to look into the faces of their respective 'committees on examination.' Thus all the 'theological students' of the Dakota Conference were duly presented to the Conference 'faculty.' The bishop gave a brief address to the young men on their duties as 'students,' the importance of beginning at once their preparation for the next year's examination and of doing the work conscientiously and thoroughly. Resolutions were adopted organizing an Itinerants' Club, appointing a committee of one from each class to draw up plans and arrange for meetings for the coming year."

Yet this was not the first session of an Itinerants' Club. That honor appears to belong to the gathering held in Lexington, Ky., April 9–17, 1889, where about eighty ministers gave ten days of enthusiasm to a noble programme of study and lectures and practical discussion. Not rapidly but steadily the movement has advanced, and its present status will be a subject of interest.

In response to letters addressed to the secretary of each Conference ninety-six replies had been received. Before examining these in detail let us notice some facts concerning this "Non-Resident Itinerant Theological Seminary." For the year beginning with the Fall Conferences of 1896, and ending with the Spring Conferences of 1897, there are on trial in the Fall Conferences 1,077, in the Spring Conferences 740, making a total of 1,817. Assuming the classes of the third and fourth years to number nearly as many more, we have a total of 3,500 students. If to these we add 1,500 examiners we have a total of 5,000 as members of this great non-resident Conference school of theology.

Mid-Year Examinations. The two features of the work most prominent are: 1. Examinations in the Conference course of study, and 2. Programmes of lectures, sermons, conferences, praxes, and reviews. Ordinarily these programmes are found in connection with the examinations. Primarily this movement looking to higher ministerial efficiency arose from the deplorable need for an improvement in the examinations which in too many instances were merely superficial. Annual Conferences making rigid exactions of candidates in other respects were too indulgent here. In one of our strongest Conferences a student who displayed a lamentable ignorance of the studies—in modern history declaring that Napoleon the first was born in England, fought his battles chiefly in France and the United States, and was defeated by George Washington at the battle of Waterloo—was barely denied admission after a most stubborn fight, the question even then turning upon a consideration having no relation to the candidate's fitness. If this was an extreme case it was not without occasional parallel, and there was urgent need in almost every Conference for the lifting of higher standards. Further, it was felt that, as every institution is obligated to do its best for its students, so this great theological school of the Church was bound in honor to so fashion the curriculum and so employ collateral aids to mental stimulus that the brethren traversing the four years' course of study might derive therefrom the highest possible good.

A vast improvement has already been achieved. The plan for conducting Conference examinations presented by the board of bishops to the last General Conference and adopted by that body, as found in the Appendix to the Discipline, ¶57, gives an official approval that marks a distinct gain for mid-year examinations. Of ninety-six Conferences heard from, fifty-nine have adopted these mid-year examinations. In some Conferences all the books are covered in these examinations, and the manuscript elements—as sermon, essay, exegesis, and syllabi—are submitted by the students later in the year, perhaps a month before the session of the Conference. Other divisions of the work are made according to the judgment of examiners and the wishes of the students. In most instances an effort is made to have all the students and examiners meet at the same time and place, and this is unquestionably desirable whenever possible. Where this has been deemed impracticable, as in Conferences having a very extensive territory, district meetings have been held and written examinations conducted by committees of the board of examiners.

A distinct advance has been made in many Conferences by the recognition of the board of examiners as a faculty and the assignment of one or two members as professors to one of the departments under which the work is arranged, namely: (1) Systematic and Doctrinal Theology, (2) Historical Theology, (3) Exegesis, (4) Christian Evidences, (5) Old Testament and New Testament, (6) Homiletics, (7) Mental Philosophy and Rhetoric, (8) History, (9) English Literature, (10) Methodist History and Polity.

The following are some of the reasons by correspondents assigned for the mid-year examinations: "More time than is available at the Conference session, hence more thorough work;" "A portion of the year's work completed means relief to students and examiners;" "Affords opportunity for helpful class work, the explanation of things not fully understood by students;" "Increase interest in studies and bring students and examiners more closely together;" "Place premium on study during first of the year, instead of 'cramming' for Conference;" "Less time is exacted from examiners at Conference session, more time and thought can be given to grading of students, and records of work are more likely to be complete."

Programmes of Lectures, Date, and Specimens. When all the students and examiners assemble for the mid-year examinations what an opportunity for intellectual stimulus, for clash of mind with mind, and for delightful fellowship in pursuit of the highest and best things! Here, then, is the time for two or three days of lectures upon great themes, and for papers, conversations, and conferences upon practical phases of ministerial life and work. What mental quickening, what kindling of enthusiasms, what opening of truth-vistas, what brotherly encouragement and helpful fellowship such an annual gathering signifies to the young minister!

But what of the men who graduated from the course of study five years, twenty years, forty years ago? Would they not respond to such incentives? Could they not enter zestfully into such fellowships? There are many reasons for inviting the entire Conference to attend the session of the Club. All are students, and all profit by fresh stimulus. The larger the number for whom the programme is prepared the easier to secure speakers of first-rate ability. The most successful organizations invite the entire Conference. As a considerable percentage cannot attend, and the session is only one half a week, the burden of entertainment can readily be borne by towns that would not undertake to entertain the Conference at its business session. This proves a blessing to the Methodism whose hospitality is enjoyed. Thirty-three Conferences have programmes in connection with the mid-year examinations. Many have similar programmes at other times and places, as at district institutes. Troy Conference holds a ministerial institute, with a strong programme, every August, at Round Lake, and a preachers' institute on every district three times a year. The Genesee and the Central New York Conferences conduct jointly a school of Conference studies at the Silver Lake Assembly.

The brethren of the Genesee Conference strongly support the Buffalo Itinerants' Club, whose work ranks it among the best. A specimen day from the programme of the five days' session held last May is as follows:

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

9:00 Exegetical Studies: Philippians. Professor M. D. Buell, S.T.D.
10:00 Musical Studies: "Relation of the Congregation to the Choir." Professor Joseph Mischka.

10:30 Lecture: "Function and Method of Systematic Theology." Professor J. P. Ashley, Ph.D.
11:30 Address: "Conformity to Type." O. P. Gifford, D.D.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

2:00 Question Drawer: "How to Conduct a Prayer Meeting." Rev. F. S. Rowland.
2:30 Lecture: "How the Preacher Should Study Church History." Bishop J. F. Hurst.
3:30 Lecture: "How to Secure a Good Appointment." Bishop C. H. Fowler.
4:30 Conference of Theological Students, led by W. P. Odell, D.D. Topic: "The Minister and His Library."

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

7:45 Organ Prelude: Professor Joseph Mischka. March of the Magi Kings, Dubois.
8:15 Lecture: "Savonarola." William H. Crawford, D.D.

The New Hampshire Conference conducts a Biblical Institute in connection with a Chautauqua Assembly, at Hedding, N. H. A specimen day is as follows:

9:00 A. M. Devotional Hour, Christian Experience. L. D. Bragg.
9:45 New Testament Exegesis. S. E. Quimby.
10:30 Value of Analogy in Butler's Day and in Our Day. J. M. Durrell.
11:15 "The Place of Ethics in Systematic Theology and Gospel Preaching." D. C. Knowles.
2:00 P. M. Symposium: "How to Gain a Practical Working Knowledge of the English Bible." W. H. Hutchin, G. H. Spencer, G. M. Curl, William Woods.
3:00 Address to Ministers. Dean W. E. Huntington, D.D.
7:30 Lecture, Subject: "Culture Outside of Schools." W. E. Huntington, D.D., of Boston University.

The Wisconsin Conference has mid-year examinations in connection with the ministerial association or the district convention of the Epworth League. The Rock River Conference is thoroughly alive to this important work. Dr. P. H. Swift writes: "Our young men are specially pleased with this feature of the work. They say that they can prepare for a rigid examination much better than they can prepare for a less one under the old system. My experience is that they are doing twenty-five per cent better work than when we began with the new plan." The following is a specimen day of their last session of three days:

8:30 A. M. Examinations.
10:00 Review lectures on work to be done during second half of year, by members of board of examination.
10:30 Informal Conference: "Personal Experience in Revival Work." Leaders, F. A. Patton, D.D., and N. A. Sunderland.
1:30 P. M. Glimpses of recent books of great value—short reviews of recently published books, by Professor C. M. Stuart, D.D., E. J. Rose, D. M. Tompkins, A. W. Patten.

2:00 The value of poetical studies to the minister. Professor C. M. Stuart, D.D.
2:30 Suggestions to young ministers from the standpoint of the pew. C. E. Piper, Treasurer Board of Control of Epworth League.
3:00 Lecture: "The Future Life According to the Thought of the Ancient Egyptians." Professor C. A. Breasted, University of Chicago.
8:00 Lecture: "The Kingdom of God." Professor C. R. Henderson.

Besides this mid-year programme is a course of lectures in the regular programme of the Conference session, as that given at the recent session on Comparative Religion by Dr. J. H. Barrows.

The Vermont Conference has been doing mid-year work since 1891. Some of the topics discussed in its programmes are as follows:

"The Triumph of Arminian Theology;" "The Office of the Holy Spirit in Revivals;" "Sermonic Cerebration;" "Nature and Use of Analogy;" "Epochs of Church History;" "Exegetical Preaching;" "The Scope and Importance of the Study of Theology;" "Influence of the Bible on the World's Literature;" "Dollars and Cents;" "The Right Use of the Voice in Public Speaking;" "Best Methods of Study;" "The 'Ology of the Ologies;'" "The Clergyman as a Citizen and Public Functionary."

A good example of the work of our Mission Conferences is found in the Itinerants' Club of the New Mexico English Mission, whose third session was held at Albuquerque, in September last. The following is the programme:

Tuesday, 9:00 A. M. Devotional services and organization. 1. "The Influence of Methodism upon Protestantism," George S. Madden. 2. "The Place of Evangelists in the Church," W. A. Phelps. 3. "Preparation and Delivery of a Sermon," A. C. Welch.
1:30 P. M. Devotional services. 1. "Books I Have Read this Year," C. L. Bovard. 2. "Are We Losing in the Department of Religious Experience?" F. M. Day. 3. "The Sunday School and the Church," E. P. F. Dearborn.
8:00 P. M. Sermon, John F. Kellogg.
Wednesday, 9:00 A. M. Devotional services. 1. "Written Sermon," O. C. Laizure. 2. "Is There a Decline in Public Sentiment on Moral Issues?" C. I. Mills. 3. "Ministerial Courtesies and Union Meetings," A. A. Hyde.
1:30 P. M. Devotional services. 1. "Impressions on German Methodism," A. Hoffman. 2. "Christ Among the Religions," Dr. C. B. Spencer.
8:30 P. M. Sermon, J. A. Mussell.

The Central Pennsylvania Conference is doing admirable work under the leadership of Rev. B. F. Dimmock, and securing large attendance. The New York East Conference is one of the foremost as regards methods of examination, having a most capable faculty with Dr. William North Rice as chairman. The programme is one of great strength, and deserves the presence of the entire Conference, but as provision for entertainment is made for only examiners and students few of the brethren besides

these attend. The New York Conference has been active for five years, and its work has won high praise. From two thirds to three fourths of the Conference has been rallied for these annual gatherings. Faculty and students devote twenty-four hours to examinations, after which comes a programme of two and one half days. Three evenings are given to great popular lectures, which afford students opportunity to hear the masters in the art of public speech, and which are especially enjoyed by the hosts of the Club. The morning and afternoon lectures are chiefly from specialists, and upon more important themes, biblical and theological, and are varied by discussions and conferences upon practical methods of pastoral labor and kindred topics. At the last session, besides an address by Dr. Henry A. Buchtel on "Bernard of Clairvaux," an address on "Lower and Higher Criticism," by Professor I. J. Peritz, and a paper by Dr. Ensign McChesney, on "The Kenosis"—both the latter being members of the Club—there were two lectures given by each of three specialists: Dr. William North Rice in biblical theology and physical science; Dr. C. T. Winchester, in English literature; and Dr. Robert W. Rogers, in Old Testament and oriental research. One of the brethren, writing of the programme as a rich feast, says: "It was worth going across a continent to hear the wonderful three—Drs. Rice, Winchester, and Rogers. What a bracing excursion to the uplands of thought!"

Local Guilds. The New England Conference began mid-year examinations in November last, holding them at three points simultaneously, Boston, Worcester, and Springfield, but with no programme of lectures and discussions. Dr. C. F. Rice writes: "Entirely aside from the board of Conference examiners, we have in Boston an 'Itinerants' Club' with a membership limited to forty, which meets monthly, holding a three hours' session followed by dinner. The exercises consist of prepared papers and discussions, the range covered being very wide, and the members of the Club derive great intellectual advantage from the meetings."

While the Boston Itinerants' Club is widely different in scope and purpose from a Conference organization, it has opportunity for more thorough and critical work, and illustrates a type of organization which might be employed throughout the Church. Indeed, the formation of these local guilds must become an important feature of this advance movement for higher ministerial efficiency. Several such organizations are now historic. Bishop Gilbert Haven, in his younger ministry, belonged to an association called "The Triangle," which met for Old Testament Hebraic study. In the New York East Conference, some years ago, existed "The Deka-Gnomai" for the study of the New Testament in the original—Bishop Goodsell, Professor M. D. Buell, President G. E. Reed, and Drs. G. P. Mains and A. B. Sanford having been among its members. In 1885 Drs. J. L. Hurlbut, J. M. Meeker, A. H. Tuttle, W. L. Hoagland, and J. E. Price, all then members of the Newark Conference, united themselves in what they styled "The Pentagon," and fortnightly devoted an

afternoon to the study of the New Testament epistles in the original. The plan of the epistle, translation, exegesis, word-studies, doctrinal suggestions, homiletical hints—these after two weeks of special study on the part of each member were made the subject of severest inspection and criticism, with results of incalculable good to all. Undoubtedly various other organizations of a similar sort have existed in different localities. Untold benefit might be derived from such association on the part of brethren of contiguous charges; and far better for students is such a local guild than a school of correspondence, provided no precious time be frittered away in gossip, but the session be held rigidly to the important work in hand.

Summer Schools. In addition to the Conference organization and the local guild we notice one more type of organization, the summer school, which ignores Conference boundaries and proffers its inspirations to all. Of these the Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, distinctly announced as "auxiliary to the Itinerants' Club movement," is one of the foremost in results achieved. This school seeks to furnish results of latest scholarship, to illustrate methods of critical work, and to give busy pastors opportunities to come face to face with great scholars and specialists. Nearly ten thousand dollars have been expended upon a single programme of ten days, and the enrollment fee of two dollars and fifty cents admitted to everything. The departments of systematic theology, Old Testament, New Testament, historical theology, hermeneutics, biblical theology and physical science, pastoral theology, and English literature, are represented by specialists. The evenings are given to popular lectures, and all concludes with a great musical festival, when the oratorios are rendered upon a scale of magnificence and with an artistic excellence in every way worthy. As this school is becoming known its phenomenal privileges are being appreciated, and last August several journeyed a thousand miles to attend this convocation, while one of the bishops remarked upon the programme that "no such constellation of talent and scholarship had been brought together for similar work anywhere upon the continent."

Post-Graduate Work. Naturally this work is receiving attention. Several Conferences have taken up the matter. The two Minnesota Conferences have organized a State Post-Graduate Association, whose course of study and reading for the year 1897–98 is as follows:

THE RENAISSANCE. 1. *The Renaissance in Italy*, Symonds; 2. *The Renaissance*, Philip Schaff; 3. *The Renascence in Italy*, Van Dyke; 4. *The Divine Comedy*, Dante. Supplementary Reading: 1. *The Renaissance in Italy*, J. A. Symonds, large edition, seven volumes; 2. *The Renaissance*, Burckhardt; 3. *Makers of Florence*, Mrs. Oliphant; 4. *Florentine Painters*, Berenson; 5. *Renaissance of Art in Italy*, Mrs. Baxter; 6. *Two First Centuries of Florentine History*, Villari; 7. *Romola*, George Eliot; 8. Lowell's *Essay on Dante;* 9. *The Great Artist Series;* 10. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, articles on the Medici, Renaissance, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Michael Angelo, Raphael, etc.

A similar course is planned in comparative religion. The faculty of the Rock River Conference is arranging courses in apologetics, philosophy, history, sociology, and biblical criticism.

Thus much then, and far more than we have here indicated, has been already accomplished. But of this work with respect to any given Conference, and certainly with regard to the Church at large, we may well say, in the language of a correspondent who writes concerning his own Conference, "The larger possibilities involved in this advance educational movement in our Church still remain with us to be realized."

How to Prepare a Syllabus. Many students are perplexed by the requirement to prepare a syllabus of each book to be read, and examiners are given papers indicating widely diverse notions of what a syllabus should be. The following paper sent to the students of the Indiana Conference may prove acceptable:

It is required that a syllabus shall be made of each book "to be read" in the course of study. A syllabus is a short, concise statement of the argument of the book under consideration, and brings out the main points of the subject. It is neither an index nor a table of contents, but is a recapitulation of the thought contained in and developed by the author in his writing. Each statute of the enactments of Indiana are preceded by a syllabus of the statute, and may be studied as excellent examples of the syllabus. It is required that nothing shall be in the syllabus that is not in the statute, and nothing shall be omitted that is in the law. The Supreme Court has been called upon so often to pass upon the syllabus of a statute that we may look upon these as constructed after the most approved manner.

A carefully prepared syllabus is equal to a written or an oral examination upon the book. In reading, have paper and pencil at hand so as to note important matters that ought to enter into the syllabus of that book. Gather your material with care and the construction of the syllabus will be comparatively easy. In preparing a syllabus it is well to follow this outline:

1. Give the title of the book.
2. Give the approximate number of hours spent in reading and preparing the syllabus.
3. State in what respect the theme of the book differs from the title.
4. Give an analysis of the book, as follows:
   (1) Object of the author in writing this book, and how well he has carried out his design. Defects as well as excellences may be pointed out.
   (2) Development of the argument, analytically.
   (3) Conclusions drawn by the author from his arguments.
   (4) Conclusions drawn by the reader from the arguments.
5. State, in a few lines, the benefits derived from reading the book and the preparation of the syllabus.
6. Be neat, careful, and thoughtful in your work.

In the above two points merit special commendation. The "short, concise statement" is greatly to be preferred to a small volume of diffuse manuscript. Here, as elsewhere, brevity is indeed "the soul of wit." Neither "an index nor a table of contents" should rob any examination paper of the quality of individuality—one of its chief merits—and one of the best evidences of honest, thorough-going work.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS.

THIS chapter, containing an account of the first war mentioned in the Bible, has been for many years a stumbling-block in the way of the destructive biblical critic. Uninteresting as it may seem to the ordinary lay reader, it still stands out prominently by itself, like some lofty peak from whose summit one may obtain, at least in outline, a general view of the mighty empires in Abraham's day. A man not having a theory to support will find no difficulty in regarding this entire chapter as a literal record of actual facts. Not so, however, with those of the Wellhausen school of critics; for they brand this chapter, as well as almost everything that precedes, as mythical or legendary, the invention of some patriotic Jew of a literary turn of mind, merely "to invest Abraham with a halo of glory." A charming story, say they, but nothing more, written by some priest or Levite who had seen or read of the military campaigns under Tiglath-pileser or Sennacherib, many centuries after the time of Abraham—a story painted in very vivid colors, so as to magnify the prowess and military greatness of the "father of the faithful." The author, as Hommel has ironically said, like a novelist of the nineteenth century, in search of local color wanders into distant Babylonia for his antiquarian details. The unhistorical character of these verses becomes evident, we are told, from the fact that the writer does not represent Abraham as waging war with the petty kings of Palestine, but with such monarchs as Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal, the mighty rulers of far-away empires.

In order to show the attitude of the destructive critics who are intent upon depressing all the early dates of the Old Testament books, we shall now cite two passages, both noticed by Hommel in *The Ancient Hebrew Traditions*. The first is from Professor Edward Meyer's *History of Antiquity*, published in 1884. This learned Halle professor wrote: "It would seem, therefore, that the Jew who inserted the account [Gen. xiv], one of the latest portions of the whole Pentateuch, in its present position must have obtained in Babylon exact information in regard to the early history of the country, and, for some reason which we are unable to fathom, mixes up Abraham with the history of Kudur-Lagamar; in other respects his version of the story accords perfectly with the absolutely unhistorical views held by the Jews in regard to primitive ages."

Even as early as 1869 Nöldeke characterized the entire chapter, so different from anything else in the story of Abraham, as the biased invention of a much later, though, possibly, preexilic, date. Wellhausen, the high priest of modern destructive criticism, writing twenty years later (1889), notwithstanding the fact that Assyriology had shown the weakness of

Nöldeke's position, still puts his seal of approval upon it, for in his book* we find in substance the following:

Nöldeke's criticism [of Gen. xiv] remains unshaken and unanswerable. That four kings from the Persian Gulf should, in the time of Abraham, have made an incursion into the Sinaitic Peninsula; that they should on this occasion have attacked five kinglets on the Dead Sea littoral and have carried them off prisoners; and finally that Abraham should have set out in pursuit of the retreating victors, accompanied by three hundred and eighteen men-servants, and have forced them to disgorge their prey—all these incidents are sheer impossibilities which gain nothing in credibility from the fact that they are placed in a world which had passed away.

It is the easiest thing possible to stamp that which runs counter to our theories as incredible or a mere invention. This is exactly what the critics have done with the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Perhaps none but the more advanced of these will deny the historical character of Abraham. That he lived and acted, in the main, as described in Genesis will no longer be doubted. It used to be, and to some extent still is, different with Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal. Those four names, as far as history was concerned, were found nowhere outside of the Hebrew Scriptures, which is therefore to the destructive critic a *prima facie* evidence of their ungenuineness. It was confidently asserted that these four men never existed, but that their names were pure inventions, something like "Weller," "Snodgrass," "Tupman," or "Winkle," in the *Pickwick Papers*. But granting that such men had really existed, Wellhausen still insists that "all these incidents" recorded of them in the Hebrew Bible "are sheer impossibilities." He, however, forgets to adduce sufficient proof for such a strong and sweeping statement. Those of our readers who are at all familiar with Babylonian and Egyptian history will have no difficulty in believing that an incursion in the days of Abraham from the Persian Gulf to the Sinaitic Peninsula was possible. Even as early as 3800 B. C. the great Sargon led his victorious hordes over nearly the same route. There is abundant evidence in the inscriptions that his dominion extended far and wide, from east to west, and, as McCurdy says, his sovereignty "was almost coterminous with that possessed by the most powerful kings of Assyria and Babylonia, three millenniums later." His son, Naram-Sin, according to the inscriptions, is said to have marched southward through Palestine to the Red Sea. It is no wonder that these monarchs styled themselves "King of the four quarters of the world." If Sargon I and his immediate successors could have made these military campaigns, where then is the logic of calling similar expeditions which were made fifteen hundred years later "sheer impossibilities?"

Fortunately we are not left to mere speculation, for during the past few years numerous tablets have been discovered which, according to one

* *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, 2d ed., pp. 310-312.

of the best archæologists, contain the names of the four kings mentioned in Gen. xiv. Three of these, Chedorlaomer, Arioch, and Tidal, have been identified beyond a reasonable doubt with Kudur-Lagamar, Ariaku, and Tudkhul respectively. And some have gone so far as to see in Amraphel, King of Shinar, the mighty monarch Khammurabi of Babylonia. It is generally agreed that Shinar and Babylonia are synonymous and refer to the same country. The Babylonian form of "Khammurabi" is, according to Hommel, "Khammurapaltu." Sayce, however, proposes another explanation: "Amraphel," according to him, may be from "Ammi-rabi-pal," that is, "Ammi-rabi, the son." It seems clear that Khammu was sometimes written Ammi. The consonants in both the Hebrew and Babylonian forms are nearly the same. Arioch is the Eriaku of the inscriptions, and his capital Ellasar, beyond doubt, the Larsa of the cuneiform tablets, in southern Babylonia. This monarch's name is frequently found in the inscriptions. There is a tablet on which Eriaku calls his father Kudur-Mabug, "the father of the land of the Amorites." The very fact that Kudur-Mabug is styled the prince of "Martu" shows clearly that his dominion extended to Syria and Palestine, for these countries are known in the inscriptions by the term "Martu," or "Amartu." "Chedorlaomer," in Hebrew כדרלעמר, is clearly the same word as "Kudurlagamar" of the Babylonian inscriptions, whether or not they refer to the same person. The letter "g" in the Babylonian name is probably for the ע silent in Hebrew. "Tidal" bears a remarkable similarity to the "Tudkhul" of the tablets. If we remember that the name is written in our Hebrew Bibles with an ע between the "d" and the "l," the "kh" of the Babylonian form is not difficult to understand. The Septuagint has Θαργαλ. This is interesting, showing that the transcriber in copying the word תדעל mistook the ד for ר and reproduced ע by the Greek γ. The reader who has carefully compared the names as given in Gen. xiv and in the inscriptions is by this time convinced that they present a striking similarity, so much so as to satisfy Hommel, Sayce, and many others that they are identical. To be sure, a mathematical demonstration that they are the same has not been given; nevertheless the probability is so great as to render it almost certain that the four kings of Gen. xiv, on whom Abraham is represented as making an attack, are no other than those mentioned in the inscriptions.

If they are not identical it is a strange coincidence that Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, one of the foremost Assyriologists of Europe, should have discovered some broken tablets on which are found the names of at least three of them, Eriaku, Kudurlagamar, and Tudkhul. There is also a fourth name, which, owing to the fact that the tablet is broken right in the middle of the name, cannot be deciphered. The first part is clearly written and gives "Khammu." It certainly requires no great imagination to complete the word with "rabi," and thus read "Khammurabi," especially since we know that the great Khammurabi was a

contemporary of the other three kings. These tablets are too mutilated to allow any to speak with too much dogmatism about their contents, but enough can be read to warrant the conclusion that there was a great war in progress at the time described in the tablet, between Khammu [rabi ?], King of Babylon, on the one side, and Chedorlaomer of Elam and his two allies, Arioch and Tidal, on the other. This was doubtless waged for the recovery of Babylonia, which some years before had been invaded and conquered by Chedorlaomer. Another tablet mentions the occurrence of a great war, during the continuance of which the "Elamite" had spoiled the temple of Istar. The Elamite, as is evident from a few lines occurring farther down the tablet, can be no other than the same Chedorlaomer. The date of Khammurabi's reign cannot at the present time be fixed with certainty. Mr. Pinches places it at about the year 2220 B. C.

Here we must also mention the three tablets found by the learned Dominican, Father Scheil, in Constantinople, which are nothing less than state letters from Khammurabi to a certain Sin-idinam. One of these letters refers to the overthrow of Chedorlaomer. Here, then, we have another positive proof that Khammurabi (Amraphel) and Chedorlaomer were contemporaries. As the letter is short we shall reproduce it here, as translated by Scheil: "To Sin-idinnam from Khammu-rabi, the goddess of the land of Emul-bal, I have given them to thee as a reward for thy valor on the day of defeat of Kodor-lahomor. Because the god, thy creator, is angered thereat, therefore destroy with the troops which are in thy hand their people, and may the goddesses remain uninjured in their holy places." Father Scheil, being a Frenchman, has a slightly different orthography, and his translation differs from both Pinches's and Hommel's.

If what has been said above is true we feel warranted in drawing the following conclusions: The four kings of the tablets can be no other than those mentioned in Gen. xiv. In Genesis these four kings are said to have invaded Palestine and countries farther south. We know from the monuments that Khammurabi called himself not only the King of Babylon but also the "King of Martu," that is, the west, including Syria and Palestine. We further read in the inscriptions that Kudur-Mabug, the father of Arioch or Eriaku, styled himself "prince of Martu." Here, then, we have two absolutely independent testimonies—the one showing that these kings actually invaded Palestine, the other that one king and the father of another bore the title "king or prince of Palestine." Moreover, as far as we can trust any system of chronology, Abraham was a contemporary of these kings. Finally, the archaic forms of these words prove clearly that they were transcribed from Babylonian into Hebrew at a very early period of history. Hommel goes so far as to say that they were copied from a Babylonian original which was made at Jerusalem shortly after the events described, and not some time during or shortly after the captivity.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND MISSIONS.

THE Fourth Lambeth Conference, which was in session during the entire month of July, 1897, was attended by one hundred and ninety-four bishops, and their deliberations covered a wide range of topics, including a critical study of the Holy Scriptures, international arbitration, and industrial problems. None of the topics, however, under consideration were of greater importance, in the eyes of the Conference itself, than those pertaining to reformatory movements on the continent of Europe and to foreign missions. The Foreign Missions Committee was the largest of the eleven committees appointed, and included the names of eminent bishops—"Home," "American," "Colonial," and "Missionary." No less than ten of these bishops were enrolled in the regular list of missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. The prominence given to the subject of missions might possibly be partly accounted for by the large proportion of colonial bishops who were members of this committee; but, to whatever cause it is to be attributed, it stands in very marked contrast with the Conference of 1888, from which the entire subject of missions was conspicuously absent, while this Conference declared that the subject of foreign missions "at the present time stands in the first rank of all the tasks we have to fulfill." While the duty to evangelize the world has not been quite forgotten, yet for some centuries, they declare, the Church "may be said to have slumbered." The Conference also remarked on the signally few prayers for missionary work that can be found in the *Book of Common Prayer*, the subject of missions hardly seeming to have been present to the minds of the compilers of that work. The session recommended prompt and continuous efforts to arouse the Church to recognize foreign missions "as a necessary and constant element in the spiritual life of the Body [the Church] and of each member of it."

Among Mohammedans the missionary work of the present century is declared to have been "the efforts of magnificent pioneers;" but the special opportunities for such work at the present time in India, in western equatorial Africa, in Zanzibar, and among the Hausa people of the central Soudan call for far more systematic enterprise. The danger to life and liberty of those who seek to evangelize Mohammedans has been greatly reduced through the toleration which has followed in the wake of civilization, especially throughout the British empire. This has made India a place where Christian and Mohammedans can meet most fairly with a prospective mutual understanding, while a spirit of dissatisfaction with Mohammedanism is showing itself among Mohammedans themselves in parts both of Europe and Asia. The Conference declared that

"never since the Crusades has the attention of Western Christendom been so forcibly directed to Islam and its followers as at present." Mohammedans must be met by accurate and reasonable statements of positive Christian truth, and care not to lose sight of the points of contact between Christianity and Islam. Estimating the Mohammedans of the world at two hundred and fifteen millions, one fourth of them are citizens of the British empire—India alone, according to the last census, having over fifty-seven and a quarter millions of Moslems in its population.

In the matter of missions to the Jews, it is encouraging to have the utterance from so widely related a body as the Lambeth Conference that a fairly considerable number of Jews each year earnestly and honestly seek baptism. Yet the evangelization of the Jewish people is beset with special difficulties. Converted Hebrews themselves are subjects of such bitter prejudices throughout the Jewish community that it is with difficulty they find a way to approach Hebrews, and it is very difficult to find non-Jewish missionaries able to speak the languages with which the Jews are familiar who are well acquainted with the Jewish modes of thought. In addition to this a large part of the Jewish community are strongly imbued with rationalistic views, while the perils from persecution to those who accept Christianity are of the gravest character, included in which are severe bodily suffering, loss of goods, and the being cut off from one's family and people as dead and cast adrift on the world. A remarkable fact is that the great mass of the poorer Jews know practically nothing of the Old Testament, while the New Testament, translated into Hebrew and other languages for the use of the Jews, appears to be widely read by them. The estimate of the Conference puts the total number of Jews at ten millions, about one million of whom are in America, three hundred and fifty thousand in Africa, three hundred thousand in Asia, and twenty thousand in Australia. In the United States the largest number of Jews is found in New York, though all our larger cities have considerable Jewish populations.

Persons who have been enamored with the popular presentation of the good elements of the various non-Christian religions with which missionaries come in contact may be interested in the declaration of this widely representative and liberal-minded Conference that "the tendency of many English-speaking Christians to entertain an exaggerated opinion of the excellences of Hinduism and Buddhism, and to ignore the fact that Jesus Christ alone has been constituted Saviour and King of mankind, should be vigorously corrected." This false opinion of the excellence of these pagan literate systems—particularly the false opinion about the excellencies of Buddhism—has a tendency to dull Christian zeal for the conversion of the heathen. The Conference says that no one of these systems "as a whole supplies any adequate degree of truth about God and about man's relation to him, or presents any sufficient motive for right conduct, or ministers to man any strength higher than his own to aid his weakness." These literatures are commonly known only by

excerpts which are in the first place taken from a mass of "puerile, false, or even corrupt and corrupting" material, and in the second place are invariably presented with the gloss of Christianity itself, when they are translated for the popular reader. Even when these great systems, like Hinduism and Buddhism, are thus colored by their Christian rendering, the underlying basis is still pantheism or atheism. The religions themselves have not produced in more than a perceptible degree the moral results which these better passages of their sacred books might be supposed to insure. But it is not these better passages which are current in the speech and thought of these non-Christian communities. The popular religion of the masses is based on certain popular stories, and fetichism, with the worship of demons and specific gods and goddesses of diseases, dominates their lives.

EDUCATION IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

From native Japanese sources we ascertain something of the new intellectual life which is being produced through the contact of the Korean people with the respective treaty powers. It is proposed to establish common schools in thirty-eight localities where these are not begun. In Seoul, the capital itself, nine government schools are in operation, which were opened within a year or so, and which enroll between five and six hundred pupils. They are free schools, there not only being no charge for tuition, but books also being furnished. The course of study in these schools includes history, geography, and other subjects which were more or less disregarded in the old systems of teaching. There is an institution—the Song Kuyu Kwan—numbering about thirty pupils, where the old classics are taught, which is also a religious school, inculcating the doctrines of the saints. Although not a State institution, it is intimated that there is some secret way in which the institution is helped from the treasury of the normal and common schools. There is also a normal school in Seoul for the purpose of training teachers for the common schools. It is limited to forty pupils. There is also an English language school, now some nine years old, with about one hundred pupils, two English teachers, and a few Korean assistants. There is, besides, a French language school under government control, of very recent origin, having thirty-four pupils. A Russian language school also has been started, which enrolls forty boys; it is under a Russian teacher with Korean assistants. The Japanese language school, opened in 1892, has now, from some cause not intimated, but forty-five boys, though it has numbered one hundred and fifty. A general education is given, and the course extends to three years. A branch of the school is at Ninsen.

But there are, besides the native government schools, either private or mission schools with quite a large number of pupils. This native Japanese authority says that the most flourishing of these private schools is

the Mai-chai-hak-tang, established by two American missionaries in Seoul, with several assistants. This school has what is called an English language course, in which it enrolls one hundred and six pupils, a Chinese course with sixty pupils, and a divinity or theological course with six pupils. The Korean government gives a subsidy of one Korean yen a month per pupil. The school has had an increasing prosperity ever since it began in 1888. The Japanese have also established a private school in Seoul, which counts thirty pupils.

This writer also takes a survey of religion in Korea. He says of the American missionaries that they now "occupy a very peculiar position in the peninsula, and are more influential in politics than in religion. It seems as if they held the Korean court under their control." The Roman Catholic Church, however, exerts the largest influence in the country, counting, after the fashion in which that Church is accustomed to count, not less than sixty thousand believers, while it employs several hundred missionaries, foreign and native. The Greek Church does not attempt any evangelization of the Koreans, though it has churches at Seoul and at the three open ports, as the priests of these temples do not preach to the natives.

PROGRESS OF WOMAN IN BENGAL.

THE characterization of the reign of Victoria as "the golden age of women" has had its abundant fulfillment in Bengal. According to the last issue of the *Indian Evangelical Review* "the era of woman's emancipation in the East Indies, including India, appropriately synchronizes with the Victorian era." Eight years before the ascension of the queen to the throne "the rite of Sati," or burning on the funeral pyre, was observed; as late as 1856 the "Hindu Widow Remarriage Act" was passed; and in 1870, to prevent the murder of female infants, legislation was enacted ordering with other wise provisions that the registers of all births, marriages, and deaths in suspected parts of the country be strictly kept. Christian education, says the authority we quote, "has been the great lever in India, as it has been in other countries, in raising women." In 1819 the first day school for the education of Bengali girls was established by the Baptist Missionary Society, in Calcutta. Later came the schools of the London Missionary Society, of the Church Missionary Society, and of others. In 1855 zenana work was begun, and is well termed "a seed that has proved most productive of fruit." The Countess of Dufferin Fund, established in 1866, whose purpose is the training of women as doctors and nurses and the opening of hospitals for women, has wrought glorious results since its inception. Various incidents marking "the history of the women of India," in short, call for "gratitude and thanksgiving to God at the completion of the sixtieth year of her majesty's reign."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

August Baur. This scholar is well known to the theological world both as a translator of French theology into German and as an original writer. He has recently published a work entitled *Die Weltanschauung des Christenthums dargestellt* (A Portrayal of the Christian View of the World) (Blaubeuren, Mangoldsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1896), in which he discusses the general idea of a world view (Weltanschauung), characterizes and estimates the objections which modern thought brings forward against religion and the religious view of the world, and shows, not only the possibility, but the necessity, of an ideal supernatural view of the world. In answering the question as to the nature of the Christian religion he finds individual experience insufficient, because the experience of no two Christians is exactly alike, but adapts itself to the gifts and disposition of each. That it does this is a proof that it is a creative force which produces it; but it also explains why the experience dies as soon as one undertakes to make it conform to an external authority. Only in the Church, or the Christian community, can we see what Christianity is. But, as various opinions exist in Christendom as to the world, it is necessary to begin by the exclusion of false and foreign elements which have been attached to Christianity, on the ground of the remaining true Christianity, and in the light of the sure results of modern knowledge to portray the Christian world view. We doubt, however, whether Baur's opinions on all these questions will stand the test to which they must be subjected. To undertake to determine the Christian view of the world by any appeal to the results of modern research, however well established they may be, is to introduce into the definition of Christianity a foreign element, which is just what Baur proposes to exclude. Christianity is on its surest road to triumph when it has determined what is essential in itself and goes on its way with the assurance that nothing can permanently contradict it. Everything not essential should be worn by Christianity as an outer garment which can be laid aside at will. Christianity has its own reasons for believing in God and his power to interfere in the affairs of men. These reasons are such that no arguments or facts of science, or philosophy, or history can overpower them. They will convince anyone who will sincerely submit himself to their investigations. Hence, while it is proper and right that we should do all in our power to remove the stumbling-blocks in the path of some who would come to Christ—stumbling-blocks consisting for the most part of misunderstandings either of Christianity or the facts of science and history—yet Christianity should acknowledge the right of nothing external to itself to dictate its essential beliefs.

P. Nordheim. If we might judge from the number of works written in the interest of the reconciliation between science and religion we should be obliged to conclude that the sense of conflict is very distinctly marked on the one side, while on the other the representatives of the two spheres of thought are anxious to save both science and religion. Of late the desire on the part of scientists to save themselves some form or degree of religion has become apparent; and several prominent scientists have undertaken to show how science and religion can be made to consist with each other. But as the theologians who have tried to reconcile the two did so at the expense of science, so the scientific reconciler has done his work at the expense of religion. This is not because such a procedure is necessary, but because neither party has properly understood the limits which confine his own or his rival's sphere of thought. The complete harmony of science and religion is a possibility and a certainty in the minds of all thoughtful men; but that it will ever be realized while men attempt it in a partisan spirit is not to be hoped. In Nordheim we have one who has passed through all the bitterness of despair, in the attempt to be true to his supposed scientific knowledge and at the same time to satisfy the hunger of his heart for God. After many years of inner conflict he has reached the point where he believes that modern science not only does not destroy Christianity, but that it is the fulfillment of it. We can therefore be but deeply interested to know what he means respectively by science and Christianity. By science he understands all the facts discovered and all the hypotheses offered for their explanation which are accepted by the followers of Darwin and Haeckel. This at once diminishes our confidence in his proposed reconciliation, since it is notorious that the hypotheses, particularly some of those by Haeckel, are purely speculative. By Christianity Nordheim means belief in God as revealed through, not in, Jesus Christ, plus the unfounded belief in the resurrection of our Lord. But he takes out of Christianity the fatherhood of God, his guiding providence, the doctrine of personal immortality, and the divine nature of Jesus. What is left after all this is given up is indeed much, but it is Nordheim-ianity. He is farthest from an appreciation of the true significance of what a reconciliation between the two great domains should be.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Askese und Mönchthum (Asceticism and Monasticism). Vol. I. By O. Zöckler. Frankfort, Heyder & Zimmer, 1897. The original of this work appeared in 1863, under the title *Kritische Geschichte der Askese* (Critical History of Asceticism). In the third of a century since its first appearance it has been a standard work on its topic, although there was always something unsatisfactory about it. This second edition is somewhat of an improvement. Instead of the original division into the asceticism which was practiced upon the body and that which was prac-

ticed upon the spirit, we have here the division into pre-Christian and Christian asceticism, and rightly, since its asceticism is most important. Zöckler finds that in the earliest stages of the Indian religion it was not at all ascetic, but that its asceticism was chiefly developed in opposition to the softness of Buddhism, as a part of its counter-reformative tactics. We said the original edition was always unsatisfactory. The same must be said of this one, although it is so completely revised and altered. Perhaps the second volume may remove this impression, though we hardly see how it can be possible. The first edition is a repository of facts concerning asceticism, so arrayed as to make them somewhat easily accessible, but that is all. The same criticism is in a considerable measure to be made upon the new edition, although it does not profess in its title to be either critical or historical. For the proper understanding of asceticism we need something more than the forms which asceticism assumes and even the ends which it strove to realize. What was the principle underlying all the grotesque and brutal customs of the ascetic? What was there in these which differed from the regular Church life? How did the Church in its official capacity look upon these ascetic practices? What did the ascetics themselves think of the Church? Was their action in the nature of a protest against the Church life of the period, or was it the result of influences within or without Christianity, which developed independently of Church life? These are some of the questions which should be answered in a critical history, or in any treatise which professes to be complete. Zöckler's mistake lies in treating the matters under consideration too exclusively in relation to themselves, failing to remember that asceticism and monasticism are but phenomena of a larger whole. All this is not inconsistent with the recommendation of the work as one which contains a vast amount of useful information which is not so easily accessible elsewhere.

Christenglaube im Bunde mit der Naturwissenschaft (Christian Faith in League with Natural Science). **Von einem Laien** (By a Layman). Braunschweig, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1891. Here we have an attempt to harmonize Christianity and science by one who admits at the outstart that the biblical account of creation cannot longer be regarded as correct. On the other hand, he insists that many scientists have gone beyond their proper realm and entered the domain of philosophy, thereby invalidating their conclusions and widening the breach between science and religion. For example, the scientist can go no further than to say that the account of creation given in Genesis is incorrect; but these natural philosophers reject all divine interference or influence in the process of evolution, and set up in its stead their atheistic opinions. This layman (probably H. Wagner) is of the opinion that in general the higher organisms were developed out of the lower, but he does not truly thereby mean that the cause of this evolu-

[illegible] resides in matter, since in his opinion the explanations hitherto given of the process of development are altogether insufficient for that purpose. While he is so firmly convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the descent of man as taught by Darwin that he regards it as comparable with the Copernican theory, yet he declares that all who go to the extreme of making a philosophy of the doctrine are among its real enemies, however much they may profess to be its friends. Treating the subject of miracles, he thinks that any supposed miracle which really contradicts a law of nature must be rejected. Still, there are some alleged miracles, even of the kind which are so well attested that all the scientists need do is to class them as for the present inexplicable phenomena. As to the Bible, it is not that force in life which is needed to make the religious life glad and vigorous, although it is to every religiously thoughtful man the book of books, from which he gathers everything that is religiously valuable to him. Prayer is to cover every concern of the heart, but the wiser we grow and the more thoroughly we become permeated with the spirit of Christianity the less likely we are to pray for that which, in its answer, would require that the laws of nature be set aside. On the whole, this is a rather satisfactory book, although we cannot avoid the feeling that much is surrendered to science which might as well have been maintained.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Monism. Nothing could emphasize the utter failure of pure materialism and atheism more strongly than the conversion of so many modern thinkers to monism, which in brief is the doctrine that there is spirit in everything. This is so far encouraging to the Christian that it supports him in that for which he has contended from the beginning, namely, that materialism and atheism are inadequate for the explanation of the facts of the universe, including man. Forel, one of the most recent of the Swiss monists, says that "Science has too often forgotten that her supposed laws are not fundamental laws, but stand simply for specific relations in the inscrutable, universally harmonious, divine (göttlich) world-all. It has set itself up instead of God, and at the same time worshiped materialistic idols—matter, force, atoms, natural laws—which are no more tenable than the religious dogmas at which it smiles in compassion. Especially have medical men frequently distinguished themselves by a coarse, mechanical materialism, and by an inadequate understanding of psychology." He exhorts theology to give up its dogmatism of faith, and "natural science its cynical materialism tending toward a purely egoistic desire for pleasure. To lose it would be no pity, since it does not lead men to happiness, but through alcoholic and other poisons degenerates the brain, the soul, and the body." And he points to Friedrich Nietsche and his school as illustrations. He protests against the doctrine of a personal God, but professes to reverence in deepest humility

the inexhaustible omnipotence of the omnipresent, infinite God who reveals himself in every atom of the world, and who is both the cause of the world-all and the world-all itself. Seeing that this is only a restatement of pantheism, he meets the assertion that pantheism is the same as atheism with the exclamation, "A hundred times no," and says: "The average atheist recognizes to-day no God but himself, or at any rate the ape, or Darwin, of whom he has heard as the father of the ape-man. . . . Because we neither know nor can understand the metaphysical almightiness we have no right to deny it. That it exists, the phenomena of the whole world demonstrates." We can but rejoice that even so much light is dawning upon the minds of scientific infidels. The time will come, we verily believe, in which scientists will recognize the truth of everything essential in Christianity. But it would be a mistake to see in the utterances of Forel a championship of Christian truth. And he is still bound by the materialistic view to such an extent as to hold the perverse doctrines of materialistic ethics, according to which every man does what he does of necessity, being so related to his ancestry, to the world which has been and which now is, that he cannot do otherwise than he does. He says: "The concepts 'good' and 'bad' are entirely secondary and relative to man; they have no existence in and for themselves, but only as relative antitheses. . . . In fact, in itself there is nothing good and nothing bad in the world, and when we assume these we do it only because behind all these remain our human interests and relative concepts, or we must confess that we simply do not know the purpose and nature of the things in question. . . . When a cat eats a mouse it is good for us and for the cat, but bad for the mouse." This last sentence indicates that Forel holds to a morality among animals, just as among men, and that it is relative there, as here. Thus we see that little if anything is gained ethically by the change from materialism to monism. This will appear more distinctly if we call in other monistic experts. Benjamin Vetter, whose monistic orthodoxy is vouched for by Haeckel himself, denies the freedom of the will. He affirms that we excuse ourselves and others for their misdeeds, as soon as we reflect that they are prompted by the peculiar temperament or the national customs of the individual, or are controlled by the particular physical condition in which one finds himself. "In brief," he says, "that appears here as fact which we before mentioned hypothetically as the consequence of the process by which mankind has been developed, that every period and every smaller or larger human society has recognized that as good or as bad which by its whole tendency was useful or hurtful to the common weal." Carrying out this thought, Vetter takes up the supposed impossibility of executing the moral code of the Bible. For example, he says that everyone knows the story of the young man who made a wager that he would utter no falsehood for a whole day, and who won, though at night he had lost his betrothed, his means of earning a livelihood, his best friends, and the inheritance his uncle had expected to leave him; and he argues

that, as it is impossible to keep these moral laws, the evolutionary ethics which sets as the standard not an ideal, but the recognized good and bad in any community, is better than the Christian. He further declares that, since the moral man is no less under the compulsion of circumstances than the insane and the child, we should feel no more ill will toward him when he does what we call wrong than we would toward them. But Carneri, another modern monist, is of the same mind. When urging that truthfulness is the beginning and end of all ethics he says the point is not "that one shall never speak an untruth, but that if one tells an untruth it should be such a case as would be justified by every high-minded man. His entire conduct must be such that all the world will see that truth is sacred to him. . . . If he is sometimes compelled to dissimulate nothing can compel him to play the hypocrite." Surely, that is a strange conception of the sacredness of truth which could tolerate falsehood. But it is to be remembered that according to monist ethics everything is done for the common good, presumably even lying. On this ground it will be difficult to convict the Jesuits of immorality when, in the interest of the Church which to them is the source of all good, they practice mental reservations. That all this is practically identical with materialistic ethics may be seen from a comparison with the utterances of Strecker, whose materialism is praised even by Büchner. He says: "The man of honor and the criminal are made of the same stuff, and it is not free will, but the force of circumstances, which has made them what they are. . . . Especially is it opportunity and temptation to given acts which determine the character and destiny of men." It is evident that whatever we may think of the metaphysical questions supposed to be settled by monism the system has as yet, so far as its chief living foreign representatives are concerned, not disengaged itself from the toils of materialistic ethics. What is needed is freedom from the depressing influence of the evolutionary idea of the basis of moral action, according to which that action is right which is approved by the community. In this way there is no higher standard by which to measure our conduct, and there is no ideal toward which we strive. The supposed fact that evolution will some time bring in the perfect ethics for the race may be unquestionable; but the difficulty with it is that we shall have no way of knowing when we have attained. Another fault of monist ethics is that it ignores almost wholly the fact that effort can change our individual practice from bad to good, and therefore loses the immense advantage which accrues to morals from earnest endeavor. It lays undue stress upon the effect of ancestry and environment in character and conduct. Then it fails to explain how Jesus reached the most perfect conception of ethics ever known to man; for, according to monism, this conception ought to have been the discovery of modern science in its study of evolution. We suggest that if Jesus had not announced it the monists would never have thought of it.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

Two recent articles portray in vivid outline the personality of the late poet laureate of England. The first of these, by W. H. Rideing, is entitled "Tennyson in the Isle of Wight," and appears in the December number of the *North American Review*. In its realistic description one seems to hear the song of the thrush in the wood, and to smell the salt of the Channel, whose tonic air was said by Keats to be "worth sixpence a pint." A passionate lover of nature was Tennyson. "He observed not merely with the eye of a poet, but as a man of wide scientific knowledge, and he had much more than a fair acquaintance with geology, botany, and astronomy. Flowers and birds were the burden of much of his talk in his rambles, and he was constantly making notes. 'I generally take my nature-similes direct from my own observation of nature, and sometimes jot them down, and if by chance I find that one of my similes is like that in any author my impulse is not to use that simile.' His son adds that if he was in the vein during a walk he would make dozens of similes that were never chronicled." Especially was he fond of the sea. "Somehow," he said, "water is the element I love best of all four." Along "the downs toward the Needles" were his walks, or on "a platform over Scratchall's Bay, looking up to a dazzling white precipice seen far away by ships at sea," or "among the green rock pools on the shore," where seaweed, anemones, and waves engage his notice. And the sea at last prompted his dying song. "It was at Farringford that, when the end was nearing, he wrote 'Crossing the Bar,' and it was the moaning of the sea there that inspired it. He explained the pilot as meaning 'that Divine and Unseen who is always guiding us,' and a few days before his death he said to his son, 'Mind, you put "Crossing the Bar" at the end of all editions of my poems.'" The second article on the poet is found in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, and is an able notice of the memoir of Tennyson recently issued by his son. In November, 1850, the laureateship was offered him. "The prince consort's admiration of 'In Memoriam' determined her majesty's choice" of him over Professor Wilson, Henry Taylor, and Sheridan Knowles. His acceptance brought him, among all else, he says, "such shoals of poems that I am almost crazed with them." And he adds, "The two hundred million poets of Great Britain deluge me daily. Truly the laureateship is no sinecure." An anonymous letter received by him, which he enjoyed repeating, read: "Sir, I used to worship you, but now I hate you. I loathe and detest you. You beast! So you've taken to imitating Longfellow. Yours in aversion." Of Samuel Rogers he recalled this anecdote: "One day we were walking arm in arm, and I spoke of what is called immortality, and remarked

few writers could be sure of it. Upon this Rogers squeezed my arm and said, 'I am sure of it.'" In 1873 he declined a baronetcy offered by Gladstone, and in 1874 Disraeli's repetition of the offer. In 1883 he accepted the peerage, saying, "By Gladstone's advice I have consented, but for my own part I shall regret my own simple name all my life." "Seasonable" was it, pronounces the reviewer, "that his later poetry should have been tinged with autumnal coloring. . . . It was not to be expected that Tennyson's later inspirations should reach the supreme level of the poems which he wrote in his prime, or that there should be no ebb from the high-water mark that he touched, in our opinion, fifty years earlier, in 1842. Yet hardly any poet has so long retained consummate mastery of his instrument. . . . And it will never be forgotten that he wrote 'Crossing the Bar' in his eighty-first year." The end came tranquilly. "When, in September, 1892, he fell seriously ill, and Sir Andrew Clark arrived, the physician and the patient fell to discussing Gray's 'Elegy;' and, a few days later, being much worse, he sent for his Shakespeare, tried to read, but had to let his son read for him. Next day he said: 'I want the blinds up; I want to see the sky and the light.' He repeated, 'The sky and the light.' . . . On the second day after this he passed away very quietly. The funeral service in Westminster Abbey—with its two anthems, 'Crossing the Bar' and 'The Silent Voices' filling the long-drawn aisle and rising to the fretted vault above the heads of a great congregation—will long be remembered by those who were present."

An important article on "The Archæology of Baptism" introduces the table of contents in the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Its writer is Professor Howard Osgood. The text is illustrated by several colored photographs, and the trend of the discussion is indicated in the following words of conclusion: "For the reasons stated in this article we believe that literature, history, and archæology agree that there has been but one form of the typically cleansing bath, immersion, prescribed in the Old Testament, observed by the Jews, by John the Baptist, by the apostles, and faithfully kept by all Christian Churches for many centuries after Christ." Henry Hayman, D.D., of Aldingham, Ulverston, England, writes on "Gilead and Bashan, or the Præ-Mosaic Manassite Conquest;" and Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D., discusses the question, "Does a Literal Interpretation of the Song of Songs Remove its Character as Scripture?" Of the three constructions of Solomon's Song the literal is favored by Professor Curtiss, rather than the allegorical or the typical. After a lengthy unfolding of "the story on which the drama contained in the Song is founded," the author concludes: "When we reflect upon the crimes and sorrows with which men and women have been visited because of the perversion of love, it certainly does not seem strange that there should be one book in the Old Testament which

shows its true nature, teaching that all the real peace and happiness of those who submit to it is dependent upon mutual and worthy affection." In the fourth article H. W. Magoun, Ph.D., considers the "Early Religion of the Hindus." A memorable religious movement is recalled by the Rev. Ezra Hoyt Byington, D.D., in his paper on "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening." The writer says of the personality of Edwards: "He is spoken of most frequently as a hard logician, a metaphysician, a Calvinistic theologian. If that had been all, the revival would not have begun in his parish. He was, undoubtedly, a man of the highest order of genius. He was a brilliant scholar. He was a man of deep piety. He was accustomed as a child to go by himself to secret places in the woods for the purpose of prayer. He passed through very deep religious experiences during his college life. . . . An instructive parallel might be drawn between the early religious exercises of John and Charles Wesley and those of Jonathan Edwards. The revival had its spring in the deep searchings of heart and in the complete consecration of these men." In the next article Z. Swift Holbrook writes of "Civic Reform," declaring that "the light of the Christian religion must now be concentrated upon social problems, and its life must be spent in the attainment of just social conditions." Mrs. Emma Winner Rogers follows with an article on "The Social Failure of the City," in which she welcomes the tide of population now flowing toward the country. "Blessed be the country! Man was made to dwell in a garden, and to tend it was his first and best occupation. The return to the country in these recent years is a real and wholesome movement." The concluding article, by C. B. Wilcox, D.D., on "Lawlessness and Law Enforcement," contends that laws everywhere ought to be enforced, "without fear or favor."

Most of the articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for December have reference to English questions and conditions. The table of contents is: 1. "The Problem Beyond the Indian Frontier," by Sir Auckland Colvin; 2. "The Dual and the Triple Alliance and Great Britain," by Francis de Pressensé; 3. "Our Reserves for Manning the Fleet," by the Right Honorable Lord Brassey and Rear Admiral Lord Charles Beresford; 4. "Tammany," by F. A. McKenzie; 5. "The Danish View of the Slesvig-Holstein Question," by Dr. A. D. Jorgensen; 6. "The New Learning," by Herbert Paul; 7. "Our Public Art Museums—A Retrospect," by Sir Charles Robinson; 8. "Billiards," by D. D. Pontifex; 9. "The Ways of 'Settlements' and of 'Missions,'" by the Rev. Canon Barnett; 10. "Some Reminiscences of Thomas Henry Huxley," by Professor St. George Mivart; 11. "In the Sub-Editor's Room," by Michael MacDonagh; 12. "The Present Situation of England—A Canadian Impression," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison. An exception to the English feature of the contents already noted is the fourth article, on "Tammany." It seems at least unusual that one should cross the ocean to find such an

adequate description of a political force now so strongly in evidence in our midst. The article is largely historical, and notices the origin of the society, a few days after Washington's first inauguration, as a "nonpartisan, benevolent, patriotic, and antiaristocratic" organization.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South for November–December, opens with an article by J. F. Crowell, Ph.D., on "Social Experiments in the United States." Professor J. T. Littleton, M.A., writes of "King Lear," and concludes: "Away, then, with the fear which a college president recently expressed to me that the much teaching of Shakespeare in our colleges would only educate a generation of pleasure-seeking theater-goers. The sublimest lessons of the great bard . . . cannot be taught by the actor; they are too spiritual and sacred to be caught by the declaimer; but, if they are to be gotten at all, they must be caught by the reader, while the world is sleeping 'neath the watch of the stars, when the soul is receptive of the highest truth." Other articles are: "Our Educational System—Some Criticisms and Suggestions," by R. M. Smith, Ph.D.; "The Scriptures in the Light of Archæological Discoveries," by M. B. Chapman, D.D.; and "Browning's Interpretation of Christianity," by Professor Edwin Mims. Dr. E. H. Dewart discusses "Some Current Tendencies in Theological Thought," and notices such characteristics as "the undue exaltation of material good as a remedy for human sin and sorrow," the speaking in "laudatory terms of the heathen religions," and the substitution of "something else for the authority of the Bible." The Rev. J. B. Game, M.A., writes of "Pagan and Christian Elements in Anglo-Saxon Literature;" President A. C. Millar, M.A., considers "The Province of the College;" and G. J. Leftwich contributes an entertaining biographical paper on "Sergeant S. Prentiss." The concluding articles are "Dramatic Literature in the Bible," by J. A. Duncan, D.D., in which the writer considers the books of Job, Song of Songs, and Esther; and "The Theory of Knowledge," by the editor.

THE December issue of *The Conference Examiner* is at hand. It is designed for the use of "student ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church and their examiners." The table of contents of the present number includes: "The Value and Use of a Synopsis;" "Ministerial Education;" articles on "Harman's Introduction," "Hermeneutics," and "General Theological Encyclopedia;" "Sermon Construction;" "History of American Methodism—Test Questions;" "Scripture History—Test Questions," and "Plan of Study." If the two numbers of the publication already issued are a token of the future, the magazine is deserving of a wide circulation among examiners and students, since it must come as a stimulus and helper to both these classes. Its editor is C. M. Heard, D.D., of Minneapolis, Minn.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Scientific Aspects of Christian Evidences. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A., author of *The Logic of Christian Evidences*, *The Ice Age in North America*, etc. 12mo, pp. 362. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume is an elaboration of the Lowell Institute Lectures delivered in Boston last winter, and is a natural development from Dr. Wright's work as professor of the harmony of science and revelation in Oberlin College. The purpose and chosen province of the book are indicated thus: "Our defense of Christianity must be more than negative. In order to serve as a satisfactory basis for religious hope and activity the facts of Christianity must be proved beyond 'reasonable doubt.' The Christian apologist must cheerfully accept the responsibility of adducing such proof. But in this respect the present volume contents itself mainly with the preliminary discussion of numerous fundamental assumptions which vitally affect the argument, and with the elaboration of the important new lines of evidence which have come to light during the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. The evidences of the historical truth of the foundations of Christianity have always been ample. In the providence of God they have now become superabundant. It can but be profitable for all to go over the ground afresh in the light of recent investigations and discoveries." The lines along which the volume moves are indicated by the titles of the ten chapters: "Limits of Scientific Thought;" "The Paradoxes of Science;" "God and Nature;" "Darwinism and Design;" "Mediate Miracles;" "Beyond Reasonable Doubt;" "Newly Discovered External Evidences of Christianity;" "The Testimony of Textual Criticism;" "Internal Evidences of the Early Date of the Four Gospels;" "Positive Results of the Cumulative Evidence." This is the freshest and completest of capable and judicious American books relating to the ground which it covers, and will be found valuable by every intelligent and thoughtful reader. Its special worth is in its dealing with Christian Evidences in the light of to-day and in presence of the questions raised by the latest researches of science and scholarship. Hardly any such question is left untouched. The total force of the book is great for confirming faith, relieving mental bewilderment, putting the mind in possession of reasons, and quieting the fears of any who are so foolish as to imagine that the science and scholarship which Christianity has given birth to, sustains, and of set purpose stimulates can ever harm the mother who bore them and nurtured them to their present strength. Few recent books have tempted us so strongly to long and numerous quotations. The author thinks that, in view of the analogies between traducianism and Darwinism, there is no need for theological controversies over the mode of the origin of species; that Darwinism

really raises no new questions in the philosophy of Christianity; and adds that "until theologians can scientifically determine at just what point in the individual fœtus the physical organism comes into union with a responsible spirit, it is with ill grace that they demand from the men of science a clear statement concerning the mode by which specific qualities are acquired by the race as such. In other words, it is as difficult to tell when or how the fœtal germ passes from a living organism to become a living immortal soul as it is to frame an hypothesis concerning the mode of the formation of a species from an incipient variety of plant or animal." The chapter on "The Paradoxes of Science" clears away many of the current objections to Christianity, concluding as follows: "Nothing which we have learned of the constitution of matter or of the universe renders the conception of a miracle impossible, or materially increases its improbability. The worst foes of Christianity are not physicists but metaphysicians. Hume is more dangerous than Darwin; the agnosticism of Hamilton and Mansel is harder to meet than that of Tyndall or Huxley; this fatalism is more to be dreaded than the materialism of any school of science. The sophistries of the Socratic philosophy touching the freedom of the will are more subtle than are those of the Spencerian school. Christianity, being a religion of facts and history, is a free-born son in the family of the inductive sciences, and is not specially hampered by the paradoxes which are connected with all attempts to give expression to ultimate conceptions of truth. The field is free for the reception of such moral evidence of the truth of Christianity as it has pleased the Creator to afford us." The fact is noted that Darwin's researches brought him to regard Parthenogenesis as not in any case wonderful; "in fact," he said, "the wonder is that it should not oftener occur." The chapter on "Mediate Miracles" warns the unsophisticated student against "the cool confidence with which some critics assume that the absurdities and incongruities which they impose upon the Old Testament are necessarily drawn from it by fair modes of interpretation;" and adds that "if we limit ourselves to what is necessarily implied in a fair interpretation of the Old Testament it will not be difficult to show that its miracles, like those of the New Testament, are neither excessive in amount nor incongruous in character, but are scrupulously confined to the accomplishment of the high moral purposes of the whole revelation." The chapter "Beyond Reasonable Doubt" holds in solution, or, rather, pretty distinctly crystallizes in outline, a mighty argument available for sermonic use to convince all persons of sense and reflection that, admitting all mysteries and uncertainties, it is the height of unreason and folly not to accept the Gospel and conform to the requirements of religion. "Newly Discovered External Evidences" make it "more and more clear that the four gospels already in the early part of the second century had the field all to themselves. It is largely these facts which have compelled Harnack to acknowledge that the agnostic critics of the past fifty years have been following phantoms of their own creation. The traditional, or,

better, the *historical*, view concerning the dates of the New Testament literature were correct." The internal evidences abundantly support these external evidences that all of the gospels are products of the apostolic age. "Indeed, so strong is this evidence that the destructive criticism of the New Testament which has prevailed so extensively during the past fifty years may be fairly said to have received its deathblow in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, so that Harnack, its last and ablest representative, has formally surrendered the field with the following most significant words: 'The oldest literature of the Church in all main points and in most details, from the point of view of literary criticism, is genuine and trustworthy. . . . The chronological succession in which tradition has arranged the original documents of Christianity is, in all essential points from the epistles of St. Paul to the writings of Irenæus, correct, and compels the historian to keep clear of all hypotheses concerning the course of events which conflict with this succession.'" The marvelousness of the solidity under all tests of the evidence which we possess, nineteen centuries after, for the facts of Christ's life and of New Testament history, is set in strong light by showing how vulnerable to skeptical cavil is the evidence concerning so recent an event as Abraham Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address. The author says: "I have been unable to find anyone who heard the address, much less anyone who took notes at the time, or who, if he did take notes, would be able to prove that he could record the speech exactly as it was given. And even if one had heard it himself it would be difficult for him to be perfectly confident that after thirty years his memory retained all the facts. And when it comes to the documentary evidence it is far too slight to remove every possibility of doubt. It is true that a purported facsimile of this address in Lincoln's own handwriting has been published, but a suspicious thing about this is that it is admitted that it was written out by its distinguished author some months after its purported delivery. Besides, about all the evidence we have of this facsimile is that it was published in a popular magazine by one of Lincoln's own satellites who was not entirely above the charge of being a hero worshiper and unduly subservient to his master's influence. Such is the indefinite evidence on which we are compelled to repose at the present time. How much worse will it be after the lapse of one or two centuries!" It will then be far less capable of proof than will be the general facts of Christ's life eighteen hundred years prior to that address. Besides this, the situation as reported contains certain incongruities and improbabilities. In view of Lincoln's great reputation as a platform orator, and his own prominent part in the trying experiences and the stirring events which led up to the great victory at Gettysburg, does it seem likely that he would be assigned a secondary place in the proceedings and would deliver on such an occasion a speech only a few sentences long? "Moreover, the evidence of those who were with him at the time is most conflicting concerning many of the circumstances. One eyewitness says that Lincoln

wrote the speech while riding on the train from Washington to the celebration. Another says that he was with him all the way, and that Lincoln did no writing on the train. One eyewitness who sat on the platform says that Lincoln, when he rose to speak, 'adjusted his spectacles' and read the address from a sheet of foolscap paper. Another who had equal advantages for observation affirms that he did not read it all, but spoke freely without consulting his manuscript. Still another says that Lincoln held in his hand and occasionally consulted during the delivery of the speech a piece of pasteboard with something written on it. On consulting the reports of the speech, also, we find many discrepancies. Those sent to Boston differ in various particulars from those sent to New York, while that sent to the *Cincinnati Gazette* differed widely from all others. . . . Much more might be said in this line, and we venture to add that if after the lapse of two thousand years any important belief for the regulation of human conduct should be dependent upon connecting this speech with the martyred President, it would be far more difficult to produce satisfactory direct evidence of its authenticity and to free it from all possible doubt arising from internal criticism than it is now to prove the genuineness of the sayings and the truth of the record of facts which are contained in the four gospels. And yet there is no reasonable doubt, and there never will be any *reasonable* doubt, that the record of the Gettysburg speech is correct in every essential detail." We end quotations with this excellent sentence: "The presumption is not that the Gospel is 'too beautiful to be true,' but that it is 'too beautiful not to be true.'"

Aspects of the Old Testament, Considered in Eight Lectures, Delivered before the University of Oxford by ROBERT LAWRENCE OTTLEY, M.A., Successively Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magdalen College, Sometime Principal of the Pusey House. 8vo, pp. xix and 448. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

The Bampton Lectures for 1897 are published with unusual promptness. Mr. Ottley was delivering them in his high, clear voice last summer, and now they are before us in a goodly volume with a fair type on a good clean page, a thoroughly English piece of printing. We will allow Mr. Ottley to tell in his own way at what his book aims. His words are these: "In the lectures which I am allowed to deliver here I propose to consider very simply and practically the present function of the Old Testament Scriptures in the Christian Church. Such an attempt, which is obviously beset with great difficulty, is dictated by considerations which it may be well to indicate as briefly as possible. In the first place, a Christian teacher cannot fail to be seriously concerned at the practical disuse into which for many ordinary Christians the Old Testament has fallen—a disuse which, whatever be its causes, must tend to impoverish the spiritual life of the Church; and, secondly, anyone who is in contact with thoughtful persons younger than himself, or who is called to minister to the spiritual perplexities of devout Christians, is well aware that the real and apparent results of the 'Higher Criticism' have raised ques-

tions, a provisional answer to which cannot be indefinitely deferred without a certain breach of trust. In Germany many attempts have been made during the last few years to define anew the position of the Old Testament, and to bring the claims of Lutheran orthodoxy into harmony with those of historical inquiry. In England, however, the task of reconciliation has scarcely yet been attempted. . . . The attempt to guide and reassure troubled faith is beset with difficulties. The Christian apologist himself is suspected or even denounced; what he concedes appears to some to involve a virtual betrayal of essential truth; what he defends or maintains is thought by others to be an untenable remnant of exploded error." The purpose is clear enough from this, and the temper of the man scarcely less clear. Mr. Ottley has a message that must appear very unwelcome to many who heard it or who read it, but the message is delivered with such tender regard for the sensibilities of all who fear for their Bible, and with such a ringing tone of optimism and of confidence, that the sting is much less sharp. In this we count his personal qualities and his methods to be factors strongly arguing for success. But he has still others. He is an admirable specimen of the finest type of English scholar. He knows his Greek and Latin, so that delicate allusions even to the little-known poets troop in his sentences. He is a trained specialist in the New Testament, and knows, therefore, the processes of literary, historical, and textual criticism. He is not, however, an Old Testament specialist, and for this work we count this no loss, but positive gain. A man who is in the thick of the fight now raging over the Old Testament is not so well suited to adjust the new theories or new facts to the old faith as a scholar, a genuine scholar from a related field. Mr. Ottley frankly states his acceptance of the main results of the more moderate school of higher critics. He has taken as the provisional position about so much of the new view as is accepted by Sanday in his lectures on Inspiration, which is on literary questions about the critical position of Driver's Introduction. Granted thus much to be at least provisionally true, Mr. Ottley seeks to reconcile this with faith—the faith of the Christian Church. He is a Christian first of all. He repeatedly avows, in the strongest possible way, his complete allegiance to the words and to the person of Christ. "We approach the Old Testament," he says, "with reverent interest as believers in the incarnation of the Son of God; with a deep sense of our own insufficiency as believers in the mystery of inspiration, and finally with the quietness and confidence of those whose feet are planted on the rock of the Holy Catholic Church, that city of God which claims as her own all that is good in human character, all that is precious in human life, all that is true in human knowledge." Here speaks the High Churchman, and that Mr. Ottley is, with all that the words now mean. And it may as well be admitted that Mr. Ottley's doctrine of the Church helps him much in finding a safe basis for authority in religion. But without too much use of this he argues for the acceptance of the new view, and for the retaining of the old faith in the divine

message and meaning of the Old Testament. It is well done, but we have grave doubts as to whether it may be regarded as conclusive. The position which he takes is a very moderate one; what will his argument be if Driver's moderate position gives way before Cheyne's more advanced position? But with this word of doubt and of caution we have no hesitation in pronouncing it an able book, a readable book, and a book worth the reading by any man who feels that the critical position is now prevailing or is likely ultimately to prevail. He will find it a book of comfort and of health.

Critical Remarks upon Some Passages of the Old Testament. By PAUL RUBEN. 4to, pp. 40. London: Luzac & Co. Price, cloth, 3s. 6d.

It is a pleasure and privilege to call attention to so brilliant and instructive a book. Mr. Ruben has thus announced his purpose: "By this essay, the outcome of many an hour of leisure, I wish to show how much help we can gain for the criticism of the Old Testament, if we make use of the text that appears to underlie the LXX translation, although, of course, these aids are not all-sufficient in every case." It was hardly necessary to prove this thesis in either of its parts, for all Old Testament scholars now make use of the LXX, and most of them are certainly at least willing to admit that, useful as it is, it is far from all-sufficient, and some of them would go farther and say that it was in some places altogether misleading. However that may be, Mr. Ruben need make no apology for the book itself. He has propounded in these few pages some of the most brilliant conjectures for the bettering of the Masoretic text that have ever been made. Of course some of them are fanciful, but so is Wellhausen, and so was Graetz, each in his own degree. The very elaborate changes in text and interpretation suggested for Amos vi, 10, we are not ready to accept, but they are stimulating, and worth more than passing notice. Mr. Ruben devotes his longest argument to Isa. viii, 19-23, a difficult passage, surely, and treated with much learning and acuteness, but we fear without success. He translates the whole passage thus:

> And when they shall say unto you,
> Consult the ghosts and familiar spirits
> On behalf of the living unto the dead,
> That chirp and that mutter—
> Should not a people consult their God,
> To get teaching and warning
> And should they not believe in this word,
> Against which there is no counter-spell!

With this one may compare the Revised Version, and put by its side the translation of Professor Cheyne, which runs thus: "And when they say unto you, Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that moan (give this answer), Should not a people (rather) consult its god? On behalf of the living should men consult the dead? To the direction and the testimony! Surely they shall speak according to this word, for whom there is no dawn" (Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, p. 397).

It is interesting to observe that Professor Mitchell has also not accepted, in his lately published translation, these rather startling emendations. More successful is Ruben in certain emendations in Hosea, for example, in xi, 1, where his emendation is certainly very reasonable. He would here read לִבְנִי, and probably translate, "and ever since Egypt I called him my son." As we said above in effect, so we here say explicitly, that the emendations are too fanciful, too sweeping. But we gladly welcome every attempt to clear up the hard places in the prophets, and we commend to the attention of all Hebrew scholars Mr. Ruben's very useful book. It is superbly printed, the Hebrew text being especially beautiful; we risk little in offering the conjecture that it comes from the great press of Drugulin in Leipzig—"*Force m'est trop*"—but we are open to emendation, if Mr. Ruben has any to offer.

Creation Centered in Christ. By H. GRATTAN GUINNESS, D.D., Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society. Crown 8vo, pp. 536. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This book is largely an attempt to show a harmony of movement in the realms of the natural and the spiritual, and the author's wide reading in the sciences, particularly in astronomy, is skillfully turned to account in the elucidation and comparison, along various lines, of his theory of "centralization." The wide range of subjects treated is accounted for in the author's own words: "Like a telescope of large aperture, this book is a light-collecting instrument, constructed to bring a broad beam of light to a focal point." The author applies the Christocentric principle in the solution of the problem of the constitution and course of the seen and unseen universe, or of the "universal system, natural and revealed." From a discussion of a "theistic view of nature" he argues the need of a revelation. Without the moral help of such a revelation there is not in man the ability to mend the world's evil. The existence and evidence of such a revelation are then discussed on the familiar lines of external and internal evidences. In both the natural and spiritual worlds there appears a "law of centralization." As in the natural world there is an astronomic center around which the universe revolves, so in the spiritual world "the person of the Redeemer is the center of revelation," and in this revelation the central thought is the "mediatorial principle." In the working out of this principle the central thought is love. Nor do these realms, the natural and the revealed, move parallel with each other. The natural is centered in the revealed. All the natural history of our universe bears silent witness to the unfolding of the claims of Jesus Christ. The heart of the book is in two sections, under the captions, "Law of Analogy" and "Law of Adjustment." In the first the author follows the lines first popularly exploited by Drummond in his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, while he escapes the objections urged against Drummond by reminding his readers that "the archetypal position of the spiritual is apt to be lost sight of, when the connection insisted on between the natural and the spiritual is that of

the identity of the laws by which they are governed. For the natural and spiritual systems do not stand on the same level." The next section is an attempt to impress the sciences as great finger-boards pointing to Christ. The summary of the argument in brief is: "(1) That nature is the work of God; (2) That Scripture is the word of God; (3) That nature is centered in the system of things set forth in Scripture, which, in its turn, is centered in Christ." The book closes with an ingenious classification of religions, under a nomenclature derived from astronomy: (1) Nontheocentric, as the various polytheisms; (2) Theocentric, but not Christocentric, as Mohammedanism; (3) Christocentric in profession, but not in reality, as Romanism. The volume shows wide reading and much theorizing, which is sometimes fanciful; and, while it cannot but interest and profit the reader, it can scarcely be said to add to the existing apologetics of the Christian faith.

Christianity the World-Religion. By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 412. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

In 1894 Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell gave to the University of Chicago the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the establishment and maintenance of a lectureship on the relations of Christianity and other religions; the lectures thus provided for to be delivered annually or biennially in principal cities of India by leading Christian scholars of Europe, America, and Asia, the lectureship to be named after Dr. Barrows, who delivered last winter in India and also in Japan the lectures now published in this book. They are entitled, "The World-wide Aspects of Christianity;" "The World-wide Effects of Christianity;" "Christian Theism, as the Basis of a Universal Religion;" "The Universal Book;" "The Universal Man and Saviour;" "The Historic Character of Christianity as Confirming its Claims to World-wide Authority;" "The World's Parliament of Religions." The aim of the lectures is to present Christianity in such a way as to make it intelligible to the oriental mind, and its evidences so as to convince pagans of its divine nature, power, and authority, and show it to be the only religion having the promise and potency of becoming universal. Near the close of his sixth lecture Dr. Barrows said to his heathen audience in the Land of the Vedas: "The creed of historic Christianity has known eighteen hundred years of discussion; it has never known defeat, and it does not propose now to revise its doctrine by abandoning the heart and brain of the Christian confession. The Church of God, built on the incarnation and resurrection, and holding from her temple's topmost spire the cross, has seen imperial domains, and hoary superstitions, and theologies of error, and ten thousand airy speculations disappear, while she steadily expands her sheltering walls and opens her shining gates to encompass all nations;" and then he quoted to them Bishop Heber's noble hymn, "O where are kings and empires now, of old that went and came?" The volume closes with eighty pages of appendix, notes, and index, including a bibliography for each lecture.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Letters of Celia Thaxter. Edited by her friends A. F. and R. L. 12mo, pp. 230. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

In how many minds, we wonder, are the Isles of Shoals and Celia Thaxter identified? To think of one is to think of both, and one is as fascinating as the other. Many of us have seen Celia Thaxter on her cottage porch or in her garden on rugged Appledore, which since August, 1894, holds her body in a hollow of its rocky breast. Nowhere else could her grave properly be made. Perpetually now she and those wild rocks afar in the ocean off Portsmouth, N. H., are inseparable to human imagination. A romantic life was hers in connection with those islets; four years old when her father, a man of standing and of awful energy of will, turned his back bitterly upon the world of men, caught up his wife and children and carried them off to a bleak, barren, desolate rock, ten miles at sea, on which there was nothing but a lighthouse which he had induced the United States government to let him tend. There this little girl grew up, hardy, fearless, innocent, tough, like some wild creature of the ocean, at home with birds and storms, helping to trim and kindle the lamps of White Island light, watching the ships and going with the boats to fish. A shy, intellectual young man of breeding and education, going as missionary to the rude fisherfolk on the adjacent Star Island, fell in love with this sunburned nursling of the sea, this splendid mermaid of a girl, carried her ashore presently and made her a home in a quiet inland town. Naturally inland was a sort of prison to her. She wrote there a homesick poem entitled "Land-Locked," which James Russell Lowell printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, full of insatiate yearning for the sea, almost her native element. She envies the river which flows near by because it is on its way to the sea:

> I dream
> Deliciously how twilight falls to-night
> Over the glimmering water, how the light
> Dies blissfully away, until I seem
> To feel the wind, sea-scented, on my cheek,
> To catch the sound of dusky, flapping sail,
> And dip of oars, and voices on the gale
> Afar off, calling low,—my name they speak!
> O Earth! Thy summer song of joy may soar
> Ringing to heaven in triumph. I but crave
> The sad, caressing murmur of the wave
> That breaks in tender music on the shore.

Naturally enough, her life was so managed that the larger part of it was spent on the Isles of Shoals, where only she was happy and at home. In early April of 1889 the white-haired woman writes from Appledore: "It is so charming to be here. I love it so! The song sparrows sing and sing so sweetly, and the great lulling sound of the ocean is delicious to my ears. . . . Never did the islands look so lovely in the early spring since I was a little child playing on the rocks at White Island. O the

exquisite dawns and flaming crimson sunsets, the calm blue sea, the tender sky, the chorus of the birds! I am always up at four, and I hear everything every bird has to say on any subject whatever. It all makes me so happy! Sometimes I wonder if it is wise or well to love any spot on this earth as intensely as I do this. I am wrapped up in measureless content as I sit on the steps in the sun in my little garden, where the freshly turned earth is odorous of the spring." Her love of nature and the ardor of her friendships are as intense as ever in the last months of her life when she writes to Olive Thorne Miller: "We must adore these things, our birds and our flowers, all these manifestations of divine beauty, if we see them at all; don't you think so? What can we say except that their beauty is 'heavenly' and 'divine?' I never think of the critics when I speak; it is my way of praising the Lord, to adore his beautiful work. . . . Truly I have an enthusiasm for you, and I'm an old woman, almost sixty, and enthusiasm at sixty means more than it does at sixteen, after one has been banged about through this strange and perplexing life of ours so many years." She calls the sonnets of Shakespeare "the most consummate expressions of human feeling in existence;" "how few people know or care about them, but what exhaustless wealth, what wisdom, what splendor, what utter perfection of expression! The force of language can no further go!" In 1876 she writes to Annie Fields: "I am at this present wild about R. W. Gilder's poem, 'The New Day;' it is the most exquisite thing in these modern times. The whole book, with its peacock's feathers and poppies and daisies and wild roses, is so beautiful! And as for the poems, there's no English to tell their beauty. . . . O these sonnets: 'The proud full sail of this great verse!'" A more vital and capable woman was probably not alive on earth in Celia Thaxter's day. Everything a woman ever did she could do, from doing the family washing and ironing and cooking and making the garden and the family clothes to writing exquisite poems, painting pictures, sailing boats, and performing surgical operations. An inexpressibly interesting nature tells its own life story in this book in letters as charming as ever were printed. This is the sixth edition; it will go through many more. March seems ever a wild month on the New England coast. Pictures of it are given vividly enough in these letters. One dated 1875 says: "My heart is sick with the terrors of these wintry shoals. Night before last a large schooner went ashore on Duck Island. It was snowing and blowing like forty thousand devils. The poor captain was drowned. 'Boys, we must die here; may God forgive me if I have wronged any man,' he said, and then a great wave washed him off. Five men scrambled on to the rocks and clung there all night, in constant danger of being swept away. At daylight a fishing schooner passing saw their signals and rescued them." A March letter of 1876 gives these glimpses of life upon the islands: "The storm of yesterday was terrific. Had it continued another twenty-four hours it would not have left stick or stone on the shoals, I

do believe. Everything that could move in the house shook and jingled and rattled, and the roar in the sky was perfectly deafening and the sea was really 'mountains high,' the 'Old Harry,' invisible generally, 'broke solid,' as the shoalers say, every minute, and all the islands were lost in flying foam. . . . The wind and water were blown through and through the house; windows and doors seemed no barriers at all. . . . This morning a brig went ashore on White Island ledge. She struck at eight o'clock in broad daylight. The breakers tore off her stern and drowned five men there. Then she rolled and wallowed to Londoners' Island and struck on the western slope of the beach. There she was tossed and smashed, and three more of the crew were drowned. The mate alone escaped. He does not know how his life was saved. He found himself lying, banged and bruised and aching, on the beach, his shipmates all drowned, the great brig broken in half, masts entirely gone, a mass of bristling ruin, high and dry, on the iron rocks. To-night that lone survivor is at Star Island. How he must feel! All sorts of things from the wreck are drifting ashore. I am afraid of the beaches. The ghastly bodies of eight men are being whirled and beaten about among these remorseless rocks. The brig was forty days out from Liverpool for Boston, loaded with salt." Other tragedies of the islands are described: the murder of the Norwegian women on Smuttynose Island by a brutal Prussian laborer in March, 1873, and the suicide of William Hunt, the artist, in the summer of 1879, by drowning in a little pond on Appledore. No day was ever dull to Celia Thaxter, so alive was she to all that went on. No roaring, rushing, city life could be fuller of interest than those bare sea-beaten rocks were to her. By night as well as day she watches, listens, alert, intent, eagerly sympathetic. One wild December night, just after she had gone to bed, she hears above the hoarse breathing of the gale the long, low, melancholy sound of a steamer's whistle. She is up in a moment, leaning far out the window into the fury of the tempest, which cuffed and buffeted her head and drove its stinging snow in her face. Through the cannonading of the billows and all the boisterous tumult of the air that long, low, mournful moan, like a cry for human succor or divine aid, sounded nearer and louder till at last it passed by, and she heard it wander off eastward—some poor, bewildered vessel in distress uncertain of her way. One morning, a little after three o'clock, she was wakened by the distressed cry of a sandpiper. There was a nest of them near the reservoir. She sprang up, opened her window, and looked out. A hideous three-legged cat was prowling about near the nest, and the terrified birds were flitting and piping. The white-haired woman of fifty threw on her dressing gown, slipped on shoes without waiting for stockings, ran down stairs, and out of the house, round the piazza, up over the grass and through the bushes, over the fence, and on to the reservoir wall where the tragedy was impending. She scared away the cat, pacified the dear little sandpipers, and then stood for some time oblivious of the chilly air at the risk of her life, entranced with the beauty and the peace, the

sky rosy with dawn, the sea a mirror, the world lovely with the delicate soft light before sunrise, the air sweet and still and pure, so that she said, "It is heavenly!" Not Thoreau himself was, as she expressed it and felt herself to be, so much "a part of the Lord's universe;" and she was not afraid of life or death.

Relics of Primeval Life. Beginning of Life in the Dawn of Geological Time. With Sixty-five Illustrations. By Sir J. William Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., etc. 8vo, pp. 338. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This work of Dr. Dawson's is distinctively a study in geology. In 1875, as he writes in his Preface, he attempted to sum up in a popular volume what was known as to the origin of life in the globe; in 1893 he devoted a chapter to the same topic, in a work which he published on the science of the earth; in 1895 he delivered a course of lectures on the subject to a large audience, at the Lowell Institute, Boston, and these lectures he has now gathered up in the volume before us. His hope in its issue is that "inquiries into the dawn of life may prove as fascinating to general readers as to those who prosecute them as a matter of serious work, and that their presentation in this form may stimulate further research in a field which is destined in the coming years to add new and important domains to the knowledge of life in the early history of the earth." The author's wish that the general reader may find fascination in his pages has its emphasis in the fact that so far as such a technical subject may be rendered interesting his volume is made attractive by illustrations and by clearness of language. His chapters include: "The Chain of Life Traced Backward in Geological Time," "Life in the Early Cambrian," "Pre-Cambrian Life," "Foundations of the Continents, and their General Testimony as to Life," "Probabilities as to Laurentian Life and Conditions of its Preservation," "The Dawn of Life," "Contemporaries of Eozoon," and "The Origin of Life." The final conclusion of Dr. Dawson is one in which every Christian believer should rejoice: "Reason, in short, requires us to believe in a First Cause, self-existent, omnipotent, and all-wise, designing from the first a great and homogeneous plan, of which as yet but little has been discovered by us. Thus any national scheme of development of the earth's population in geological time must be, not agnostic evolution, but a reverent inquiry into the mode by which it pleased the Creator to proceed in his great work."

Talks on the Study of Literature. By Arlo Bates. 12mo, pp. 260. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These eighteen chapters are made up from a course of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Lowell Institute in 1895. They deal with literary expression, false methods, the language of literature, the value of the classics, contemporary literature, new books and old, fiction and life, poetry and life, the intangible language, why we study literature, methods of study, and what literature is. They are not stilted or conventional, but fresh and free and sparkling with life. Keen criticism,

just characterization, and enlivening incident lend value and interest to the pages. He says truly that Walter Pater in *Marius, the Epicurean*, "has expended his energies in exquisite excesses of language; has refined his style until it has become artfully inanimate. . . . It is no longer a message spoken to the heart of mankind; it is a brilliant exercise in technique." He thinks Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese" much greater than Tennyson's "In Memoriam," but that neither stands supremely high among the masterpieces. Of reading he writes, it "is the garden of joy to youth, but for age it is a house of refuge." A wise old gentleman gave this recipe for happy marriages: "Mutual love, a sense of humor, and a liking for the same books." Says Emerson, "Go with mean people and you think life is mean. Then read Plutarch and the world is a proud place, peopled with men of positive quality, with heroes and demigods standing around us, who will not let us sleep." We read for information, for amusement, for social cultivation, for insight into character, for interpretation of life. "Books explain us to ourselves." Of books which made an epoch in one's life the author writes: "The times and the places when and where we read them stand out in memory as those of great mental crises. We recall the unforgettable night in which we sat until the cold gray dawn looked in at the window reading Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, the sunny slope where we experienced Madame de Gasparin's *Near and Heavenly Horizons*, the winter twilight in the library when that most strenuous trumpet blast of all modern ethical poetry, 'Childe Harold to the Dark Tower Came,' first rang in the ears of the inner self." Here is one of Robert Louis Stevenson's sayings: "One thing you can never make Philistine natures understand; one thing, which yet lies on the surface, remains as unseizable to their wits as a high flight of metaphysics, namely, that the business of life is mainly carried on by the difficult art of literature." And this bit from James Hannay on the relation of literature to the practical issues of life follows: "In England what has not happened from the fact that the Bible was translated? We have seen the Puritans—we know what we owe to them—what the world owes to them! A dozen or two of earnest men two centuries ago were stirred to the depths of their souls by the visions of earnest men many centuries before that; do you not see that the circumstance has its practical influence in the cotton markets of America at this hour?" One fact of literary art is well illustrated: "The choice of a single word gives to a sentence a character which without it would be entirely wanting; a simple epithet modifies an entire passage. In Lincoln's 'Gettysburg Address,' for instance, after the so concise and forceful statement of all that has brought the assembly together, the speaker declares 'that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.' The adverb is the last of which an ordinary mind might have thought in this connection, and yet, once spoken, it is the inevitable and supreme word. It lifts the mind at once into an atmosphere elevated and noble. By this single

word Lincoln seems to say: 'With the dead at our feet, and the future for which they died before us, lifted by the consciousness of all that their death meant, of all that hangs upon the fidelity with which we carried forward the ideal for which they laid down life itself, we "*highly* resolve that their death shall not have been in vain."' The phrase is one of the most superb in American literature. It is in itself a trumpet-blast clear and strong." Excellently fine is Dekker's saying that patience "is the perpetual prisoner's liberty, his walks and orchards." Writing of the value of the classics, the author says: "Neither is there in classic writers the puling, sentimental, sickly way of looking at life as something all awry. The reader who sits down to the Greek poets, to Dante, to Chaucer, to Molière, to Shakespeare, to Cervantes, to Montaigne, to Milton, knows at least that he is entering an atmosphere wholesome, bracing, and manly, free alike from sentimentality and from all morbid and insane taint." In the chapter on "The Greater Classics" such things as these are written of the Bible: "From a purely literary point of view the Bible is the most important prose work in the language;" "The English version has been the most powerful of all intellectual and imaginative forces in molding the thought and the literature of all English-speaking peoples;" "It is not possible to enter upon the intellectual and emotional heritage of the race without being acquainted with the King James Bible;" "'Intense study of the Bible,' wrote Coleridge, 'will keep any writer from being vulgar in point of style.'" To attain any respectable knowledge of literature a man must be familiar with the finer portions of the Bible, with "the simple directness of Genesis and Exodus, the straightforward sincerity of Judges and Joshua, the sweetness and beauty of Ruth and Esther, the passionately idealized sensuousness of Canticles, the shrewdly pathetic wisdom of Ecclesiastes, the splendidly imaginative ecstasies of Isaiah, the uplift of the Psalms, the tender virility of the gospels, the spiritual dithyrambics of the Apocalypse. No reader less dull than a clod can remain unreverent and unthrilled in the presence of that magnificent poem . . . the Book of Job. The student of literature may be of any religion, or of no religion, but he must realize by intimate acquaintance that, taken as a whole, the Bible is the most virile, the most idiomatic, the most imaginative prose work in the language." Mr. Bates thinks no one is the better for "poring over the fantastic imbecilities of Maeterlinck or the nerve-rasping unreason of Ibsen," for "sailing aloft on the hot-air balloons of Tolstoi's extravagant theories or wallowing in the blackest mud of Parisian slums with Zola;" but "to have failed to read and reread Stevenson or to have passed Kipling by is to have neglected one of the blessings of the time." He thinks Turgenieff the one writer who excuses the modern craze for Russian books, and that Sienkiewicz, the author of *Quo Vadis*, *The Deluge*, *With Fire and Sword*, *Pan Michael*, *Children of the Soil*, and *Without Dogma*, has only Dumas *père* to dispute his place as the first romancer of the world. Remarking that one of the most serious defects of modern systems of

education is the small provision made for developing the imagination, he says poetry is of utmost importance for this purpose. The sages give it the highest place in the list of literary achievements; "the long-abiding regard of the race declares beyond peradventure that it counts poetry as most precious among all its intellectual treasures;" Emerson calls poetry the only verity; and Mrs. Browning speaks of poets as

> ——the only truth-tellers now left to God,—
> The only speakers of essential truth,
> Opposed to relative, comparative,
> And temporal truths; the only holders by
> His sun-skirts through conventual gray glooms;
> The only teachers who instruct mankind
> From just a shadow on a charnel wall
> To find man's veritable stature out,
> Erect, sublime,—the measure of a man.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

France under Louis XV. In two volumes. By JAMES BRECK PERKINS, author of *France under the Regency.* Crown 8vo, pp., vol. i, 496; vol. ii, 488. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, per set, $4.

The important period of French history discussed by Mr. Perkins in these volumes stands forth in new, if sometimes lamentable, distinctness under his skillful delineation. Upon the first page of his work the author describes the long rule of Louis XV, through more than a half century, as an "inglorious reign," and by all modern standards of judgment nothing could be more true than this characterization. The reader finds himself transported to distasteful scenes. The atmosphere of the court is one of unwholesome luxury; the pampered favorites of the king, with secular bishops and cardinals, are the central figures in the spectacular display of the royal palace; the prevalent spirit is one of intrigue and wassail and selfish strife. In Mr. Perkins's own words may the degeneracy of the times best be told. "In his cold contempt of all mankind," the author writes, "Louis resembled Frederick of Prussia, and, excepting the chase, there was nothing in which he took an active interest. . . . At Versailles there was an opera on Wednesday, a concert on Saturday, the comedy on Tuesday and Friday, and gaming on Sunday, as well as on most other days, but the king had little taste for any of these things; he was indifferent to spectacles; even gambling did not excite him. He did, however, find a lifelong pleasure in killing either bird or beast. The history of his private life is largely the record of his shooting. On one day, we are told, he killed 250 head of game; on another he killed 100 in less than two hours, firing 153 times. Guns were less accurate than now, and this was a good record. In thirty years he is said to have killed 6,400 stags, and the number of pheasants which he bagged is beyond calculation. The hunting grounds of the French kings were enlarged during his reign; the regulations for the preservation of the royal game were made more severe and onerous." It was not strange that the

maintenance of monarchy in such fabulous splendor should induce the financial stringency which ensued. "During the eighteenth century," continues Mr. Perkins, "the condition of the national finances grew steadily worse, deficits became more alarming, bankruptcy was imminent. . . . Besides the great sums paid for pensions the amount spent on the court and the royal family was not far from twenty million livres at the beginning of this reign, and twice as much at the close, and this sum we must multiply two or three fold to represent equivalent values at the present. The table of Louis XV and of his children cost almost four million livres yearly, ten times the amount disbursed by a thrifty monarch like Frederick II. In every department the expense was swollen by fraud and shiftlessness. 'What do you think this carriage cost me?' said Louis XV to the Duke of Choiseul? 'I could buy one like it for six thousand livres,' replied the duke, 'but to your majesty, paying as a king, it should cost eight thousand.' 'You are far from right,' said the king, 'for it cost me thirty thousand.' On no less a scale peculation flourished in every branch of the government; inefficiency and dishonesty went hand in hand; an attempt to check these evils would have been regarded as both chimerical and cruel." From this extravagance of the court we may for a moment turn to notice the warfare which Louis XV undertook and which Mr. Perkins amply delineates. In the two volumes some of the chapters descriptive of strife are entitled, "The War of the Polish Succession," "The War of the Austrian Succession," "The Loss of an Eastern Empire," and "War with Frederick." The king himself at times mixed in the struggle. "On May 8," writes the author of the struggle in Bavaria, "Louis joined the army. In this campaign, as in all his campaigns, the king proved himself a good soldier; he was courageous; unlike his predecessor, he had no fear of taking the risk of a battle; he was willing to expose his own person and to incur the chance of defeat when there was a reasonable hope of victory, and he had the good sense always to follow the advice of experienced generals." Yet he did not add to the glory of France by warfare. "The Austrian alliance proved a disappointment, the war against Frederick ended in defeat and disgrace." And again, in summation of the failures of the king's reign when, at the age of sixty-four, he was tragically ushered out of life by a pestilential disease, the author writes, "Disastrous wars had resulted in the loss of great possessions." The chapter on "The Expulsion of the Jesuits" describes an important event in the reign of Louis, though we must content ourselves with this simple reference. In chapter xxiii, on "Intellectual and Social Changes," the author puts in discriminating array the transformations that came during the reign of Louis. Conspicuous among these changes was the decline of morality and religion. The priesthood forgot its holy calling, and the Church became worldly and mercenary, as is a frequent lesson of history. "Of the changes in thought which the reign of Louis XV witnessed," says Mr. Perkins, "the decline in religious belief was the most important,

and a refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Church was naturally followed by a refusal to accept social and political beliefs which had once been received with no more question. . . . As the influence of the philosophical school increased there was a corresponding increase in religious infidelity. Those who denied the truths of the Christian religion were soon succeeded by those who denied the existence of a Supreme Being, and by whom Voltaire was regarded as a deist and a bigot. 'I think I have never met an atheist,' said Hume, when dining at Baron Holbach's. 'You are sitting at table with seventeen of them,' replied his host. . . . Even among the ecclesiastics who gathered at the table of some bishop or fashionable abbé, the proportion was considerable of those who had no belief in the creed they professed. 'The French,' wrote Walpole in 1765, 'have no time to laugh. There is God and the king to be pulled down first, and men and women, one and all, are devoutly employed in the demolition.'" And so it resulted that such men as Diderot, Alembert, Voltaire, Holbach, and Rousseau became the master spirits in literature and wielded their mighty influence among the people of France. Much more than this has Mr. Perkins written. We can only hope by these brief extracts and scanty allusions to give some conception of the trend and fullness of the author's historical review. He does not deal so much in opinions as in facts; and for his unbiased and able delineation of the epoch he discusses the reader is evermore his debtor.

A Cycle of Cathay; or, China, South and North. With Personal Reminiscences. By W. A. P. MARTIN, D.D., LL.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Circumstances have delayed our notice of this most excellent of recent works on China. While the great work of Dr. S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom,* will doubtless long remain the standard for all careful students of Chinese history and affairs, Dr. Martin's book will be found one of the most readable, entertaining, and useful books of the present era. The author, by his long experience, first in missionary life and afterward in diplomatic circles and in the presidency of the Tangwen College, and also by his careful habit of observation and his shrewd judgment, has the finest qualifications for producing such a book; and our expectations are fully met as we peruse its pages. He divides his work into two parts—the first concerning his life in South China, and the second his life in North China. The first part is charming in its delineation of the scenes and events from 1850 to 1860. The difficulties of the language, and humorous and serious incidents connected with its study, are well set forth. Various experiences, as missionary work slowly progressed, are related in an interesting manner. The author was appealed to in behalf of a young woman who was possessed of a devil. He is probably the only man who ever thought of accomplishing such a feat by prescribing a dose of castor oil; but it seems to have been effective, as he was informed by the friends of the unfortunate woman, that the evil spirit was put to flight by the bad smell of the medicine. He naïvely adds: "This was my first and last experience in casting out a devil."

Over a hundred pages are replete with these interesting incidents of missionary life, and then we have an account of the origin and progress of the Taiping rebellion. Dr. Martin undertook to reach the seat of rebel operations at Nankiug, but when his skiff was overhauled by imperialists at Chinkiang he was obliged to give up his purpose. He frankly says that if he had been searched a compromising document would have been found, it being nothing less than a letter tendering his services to the rebel chief. Even at this distance from the stirring events of those times the author is still disposed to question whether it would not have been better for China had the Taiping rebellion been successful, and thinks it not improbable "that the new power would have shown more aptitude than the old one for the assimilation of new ideas;" and that, in fact, "an opportunity was lost such as does not occur once in a thousand years." "The Arrow War," the tragic and comic episodes of the capture of Taku, and the making of treaties at Tientsin, the results of the war, and the visit of our minister, the Hon. John E. Ward, to Peking, are graphically treated in the closing chapters of Part First. The Second Part opens with a fine description of Peking, and of scenes connected with the early settlement of foreigners at the capital. This is followed by an interesting account of the author's visit to a colony of Jews in North China and a pilgrimage to the tomb of Confucius. The origin of the Tungucon College is narrated—of which the author has been president from the beginning—and many incidents connected with its growth and progress are given. An inside view of the *Tsungli Yamen*, the board of high mandarins in charge of foreign affairs, is followed by some graphic sketches of individual mandarins of note. One exceedingly valuable chapter gives an account of the early diplomatic missions from China to the West. The relations of China with her neighbors are exhaustively treated in two chapters. Due attention is given to Sir Robert Hart and the Customs Service, which he has so successfully managed. The author tells us how Hart studied under Dr. McCosh at Belfast, and when he graduated said to his instructor, "You have given me new tastes, which make it impossible for me to go back to my father's mill. Can you find me any congenial employment?" The doctor responded by putting into his hands a call for young men to present themselves in Downing Street as competitors for posts in the consular service in China. Hart won the prize, and when scarcely twenty years old entered the consulate in Ningpo, in 1854. Five years later he entered the employment of the Chinese government, and has rendered it magnificent service. A chapter is devoted to Sir Thomas Wade and the audience question, which shows the successive steps by which foreign ministers were gradually admitted to full audience with the Chinese emperor. The closing chapter is given to the missionary question, with a brief reference to the present outlook. A good map of China is appended. This is a book which all who wish to keep up with the current literature bearing on this most important empire of the Orient must make themselves acquainted with. It

is most fortunate that the venerable and accomplished author has given this work to the world at such an important time in the history of foreign intercourse with China. We commend it most cordially.

A History of American Christianity. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. Crown 8vo, pp. 429. New York: The Christian Literature Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The first feeling of the reader who opens this volume is that Dr. Bacon has undertaken the impossible. To compress into a single volume the story of the Christian Church in the New World—with its ever-increasing influence through several centuries and its present vantage of numbers, wealth, and many humanitarian institutions—is a task from which any historian might well shrink. Yet the second feeling of the reader is that Dr. Bacon has been able, on the whole, to outline with a large measure of clearness, though without giving emphasis to special details, the origin and growth of the many denominational movements in the United States. Writing first of the establishment of "the Christianity of Spain" on Western soil and of its downfall, he then traces such steps of religious development as are indicated by the titles, among others, of the following chapters: "Puritan Beginnings of the Church in Virginia;" "Dutch Calvinists and Swedish Lutherans;" "The Church in New England;" "The Middle Colonies and Georgia;" "The Great Awakening;" "Close of the Colonial Era;" and "The Second Awakening." So far as our examination of the volume has gone we do not discover on the part of Dr. Bacon anything but a disposition to give to the several denominations their full meed of praise for the sacrifices and successes which mark their several histories. Yet it is always most difficult for a sectarian to interpret from his own standpoint, and especially within such narrow limits as those of one unpretending volume, the genius of a faith to which he has not given his personal allegiance and lifelong study. In illustration, as honest and as honorable as are his necessarily brief words regarding American Methodism—were we to turn for a moment to our own denominational history—it is not evident that a reader unfamiliar with the Methodist story would gather from this record an adequate comprehension of the magnitude of the Wesleyan movement in its several branches upon these Western shores. Incidentally, also, Dr. Bacon's location of "the first American camp meeting" in the woods of Logan County, Ky., in July, 1800, must be corrected by the historian Stevens, and the date be understood as "the latter part of 1799," the place also being given by the latter as "Muddy River." This same denominational restriction surrounding Dr. Bacon to which we have alluded is also presumably the unconscious influence in his citation of two pulpits in New Haven and one in Brooklyn—whose identity we may not further particularize—as the American pulpits than which none "have to-day a wider hearing beyond the sea." Of the consolidation of sects the author has these suggestive words: "If the one hundred and forty-three sects enumerated in the eleventh census of the United States should by successful negotiation be reduced to four, distinguished each from the others by

strongly marked diversities of organization and of theological statement, and united to each other only by community of the one faith in Jesus Christ, doubtless it would involve some important gains. It would make it possible to be rid of the friction and sometimes the clash of much useless and expensive machinery, and to extinguish many local schisms that had been engendered by the zeal of some central sectarian propaganda." Dr. Bacon's volume is a worthy member of the series on "American Church History."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Poems, Pastoral and Psalm. By Rev. BENJAMIN COPELAND. 12mo, pp. 62. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

A real poetic gift inspires these verses and a pure taste decides their form. They range from lowly to lofty, from simple to sublime in theme, from "The First Robin" to "The Rainbow Round the Throne," and voice no small variety of human experience. They utter the emotions stirred in a sensitive spirit in presence of the manifold life of external nature, the plaint of the sorrowing heart, the bitter woe of the fallen, the nobleness of worship, the sweetness of submission, the blessedness of trust, and many another variation of thought and feeling. The best service of poetry is to lift and lighten the heart of man—a service well fulfilled in these verses. Charmingly true to the life of nature is the poem "The Meadow Air is Sweet." Among the verses of adoration and supplication are some which would not dishonor the hymnal of any Church. Such are "A Missionary Lyric," "Christus Consolator," and "Holy Spirit, Light Divine." The poet must be recognized as a part of the divine order. The poetic soul simply keeps time with the rhythmic cosmos—rhythmic from the heart-beats in his own bosom out to the succession of the seasons and up to the swing of planets to and fro between aphelion and perihelion. Blessed is the man who hears and helps us hear the music of the spheres, who makes melody in his heart unto the Lord, whose days a heavenly strain repeat. He diminishes the discord and augments the harmony of the world; he is a true coworker with God.

The Wells of Salvation. By C. W. WINCHESTER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

This volume of sermons on the higher Christian life is unique in being a souvenir of six years of labor in the presiding eldership on Corning District in the Genesee Conference. The author's term of service on that district closed in October, 1897. The Preface describes the district, presents a brief *résumé* of the elder's labors, and some figures which indicate actually gain in the resources and development of the district, one item being the addition of six thousand members on probation. The eighteen sermons in this book are of a sort to contribute powerfully to a larger ingathering by heightening the spiritual life of the churches and rousing

them to aggressive work. The standard of holiness was kept well advanced, and clear views of evangelical truth, born out of deep personal experience, with a firm purpose to set them forth, gave positiveness to the ministry which for six years went its quarterly rounds on Corning District. Not often does one hear or read sermons which apply divine truth so practically, so faithfully, so searchingly, to conscience and life, leaving close-fitting and adhesive lessons. Fitly enough, the introduction to this volume is by Dr. Daniel Steele, whose college pupil the author was for four years, and who says of him that he not only was a thorough scholar but had the greatest of all gifts, styled by Dr. Bushnell "the talent of growth."

The Methodist Year Book. By A. B. SANFORD, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 142. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, paper, 10 cents.

This book contains a large amount of material that will be found especially valuable by the ministry and laity of our Church, and by all who for any reason may be interested in the development of Methodism in its various branches throughout the earth. It is sold at so low a price that there seems to be no valid reason why it should not find a place in the libraries of our people. Those who desire to be in possession of accurate information concerning world-wide Methodism will appreciate the scope of this compendium.

"*For Christ's Crown,*" *and Other Sermons.* By DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D., Pastor of the Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and 29th Street, New York. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $1.50.

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Schoolboy Life in England. An American View. By JOHN CORBIN. 12mo, pp. 226. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The great old institutions of "secondary education" at Winchester, Eton, and Rugby are taken as types from which the whole system can be studied. These three schools are said to represent respectively scholarship, the aristocratic, and the middle-class sentiment. The author compares the objects and methods of some prominent schools in America with the English public schools, and advises against the attempt to reproduce the latter in this country.

A Year from a Reporter's Note-Book. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS, author of *Soldiers of Fortune.* 12mo, pp. 305. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume contains brilliant descriptions of such great national spectacles as the coronation of the czar, the millennial celebration at Budapest, the inauguration of President McKinley, and the Queen's Jubilee, and also vivid articles entitled "Cuba in War-time," and "With the Greek Soldiers." It is copiously illustrated.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1898.

ART. I.—IS METHODISM CATHOLIC?

WHAT is Christian catholicity? What model shall we take for true catholicity, a catholicity which is neither too broad nor too narrow, neither too inclusive nor too exclusive? How may we know what Churches are most catholic, and what least catholic? We all believe in the Holy Catholic Church. Where is it? How may we know it?

There are various bodies in whose titles the word "catholic" is prominent. We have the "Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church," and the "Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Oriental Church," with its several most holy catholic branches —the old Catholic Church, the Reformed Catholic Church, and the Catholic Apostolic Church. These Churches are catholic in name and accept for the most part the catholic, or ecumenical, creeds, but are not wholly catholic in fact. They impose conditions of communion apparently not imposed by the New Testament, and do not impose some conditions which seem to us to be imposed by the New Testament. Their catholicity is not a large and true catholicity.

There is but one model of true catholicity, the Christ of God, the Son of man. He came in the fullness of divine power and the perfection of human character to reveal the love of God for a fallen race, to sacrifice himself for our redemption, and to show us the way to eternal life. With the infinite perfections and powers of God and the nature, feelings, and disposition of man, who so fitted as he to lay the foundations of the divine plan of human salvation? Over-

coming sin as never man did, triumphing over death as only the Lord of life could, he has the unique right as Saviour and Creator to say to all who would know the way of life, "Follow me." Following him as closely as our human limitations will allow, let us catch, if possible, the spirit of his catholicity and see how much of it we shall find in Methodism.

The catholicity of Christ may be fairly outlined, we think, under these four heads:

1. The catholicity of the Gospel. Christ made it broad enough to embrace all races, nations, and conditions of men.

2. The catholicity of his provisions for its proclamation. He provided that it should be offered to all, and urged upon all, by all believers.

3. The catholicity of the conditions of salvation. He made them so few and so simple that all may comply with them.

4. The catholicity of Christian fellowship. His great desire seemed to be, having got men into the kingdom, to keep them in.

We understand the Gospel to be good news for all men everywhere, without exception, no matter whether they are civilized or savage, educated or ignorant, rolling in riches or abounding in poverty, blameless as touching the moral law or steeped in vice and crime, knowing that God is a spirit or associating him with idols or fetiches. The apostles were slow to comprehend the universal applicability of the Gospel. They had been constantly with the Master and received lesson after lesson as to the scope of his mission, but they were dull of heart and narrow of vision. They wanted him to send away unfed the starving multitude to perish by the way, because many of them were vagabonds; they wanted the Samaritans to be consumed by fire from heaven, because they offered no entertainment; they forbade strangers to work in Christ's name, because they were working independently. He rebuked and instructed them, and explained again and again the nature of his mission; but they did not fully understand, perhaps because

> The love of God is broader
> Than the measure of man's mind,

and Peter had to have the vision on the housetop before he would give the Gospel to the Gentiles. It is the glory of the

Christianity of our times that it grasps so clearly and firmly the idea of the unity of mankind, and opens its churches to men of every race, hue, and tongue—though not so freely, nor always with so warm a welcome, as could be desired. The Dutch Protestant of South Africa occasionally puts over his church door, "Dogs and Hottentots not admitted," but such rare exceptions have no advocates and few defenders. Individuals are not yet free from race prejudice, but the Church itself holds the true doctrine of brotherhood and is getting on to more catholic ground. Methodism is no less catholic on this point than the most catholic of denominations. It is confined to no continent, country, or people. It claims the world for its parish, and crosses seas, climbs mountains, and learns strange tongues, to carry the Gospel to those who are beyond. We believe in the efficacy of our holy catholic religion for masses and classes, for "barbarian, Scythian, bond," and "free."

The catholicity of Christ's provisions for the proclamation of the Gospel Methodism heartily affirms and endeavors to practice. If Christ on Olivet had simply said to the company that witnessed his ascension, "I have made salvation possible to everybody, let those who want it find it and take it," his sacrificial work would have been in vain. He gave it to a few; the few must carry it to the many, and not simply tell them what Christ had done, but offer the Gospel to them and by invitation, entreaty, example, command, and warning urge them to accept it. To this end apostles and prophets were given, but these were not enough; the priesthood of believers was established. All believers were to have part in the work of propagating the Gospel. Those who were set apart to serve tables, that the apostles might give themselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the word, did not keep strictly to the business they were set over, but went about preaching and baptizing. One of these lay deacons was the glorious Stephen, the first martyr; and another was Philip, whose zeal was caught by his household, and his four daughters became effective preachers of the word. This was the application of Christ's idea in sending out the seventy, as he expressed it in the words, "And these signs shall follow them that believe"—

not apostles and prophets simply, but those who believe—"In my name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues."

Methodism does not believe in a high and exclusive priesthood. The duty and the privilege of propagating the Gospel belong to all, to the body of believers as well as to the ordained ministry. The great and glorious work is to be divided, as we believe, according to the distribution of gifts and opportunities. The same Holy Spirit who calls to continual prayer and the ministry of the word calls the simple believer, also, to a life of devotion to God and to the extension of his cause. Methodism aims, not to suppress the gifts of devout laymen, but to encourage their exercise and development; and in its class meeting and prayer meeting, its Sunday school and Epworth League, its regular church services and its parish activities, it finds fields for Gospel work for all who will take it.

Taking up now the third head, it seems to us that Methodism has caught very nearly Christ's catholic spirit respecting the conditions of salvation. It teaches, in his words, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." This is the sum and substance of the Gospel. Conviction of sin, confession of sin, repentance, faith in God are all comprehended in the act of belief, and justification and regeneration are the response of God. Christ declared with great positiveness, "Ye must be born again;" but that is not our work, but the work of the Holy Spirit, and must, as God is faithful, immediately follow the act of belief. It is not a condition with which we can comply, but in fulfilling the condition of belief we do our part, and the rest is with God. The new birth means a new life, and the new life has its own signs and fruits. Methodism has from the first emphasized the importance of the new life. It has not taught that there is any substitute for it. It has held that without it baptism is a meaningless sign, church membership an empty relation, and men yet in their sins. On the other hand, whoever possesses it is a child of God and a brother in Christ, and is entitled to the privileges of the Church. If we keep applicants waiting at the Church door a while for full admission it is simply to satisfy ourselves that they are witnessing a true confession.

They may be very crude in their ideas of the kingdom; they may know little or nothing of Christian doctrine; they may have a low standard of morals, but the new life means salvation, and they have the right of admission to the fellowship of the saints if they have the new life. For babes in Christ the Church has her school for development, her progressive lessons in the duties, privileges, and responsibilities of the Christian life. According to our General Rules there is "only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies—'a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins.'" But, as interpreted, this desire will prompt to all that is necessary to salvation and to the implanting of the new life, without which, according to Christ's declaration, a man "cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Methodism, then, occupies catholic ground—the ground which Christ himself occupied, who is our perfect standard of catholicity. The secret of its power, the phenomena of its history, can only be understood by regarding it as a life and not as a machine. Its peculiar methods, its special practical features, never made it what it is. It was a life, and as a life unhampered by ecclesiastical bonds and customs it had the power of growth in a marvelous degree. When the germ of a new life is planted in the human soul by the Holy Spirit, that soul is ready to be taken at once into the nursery, which is the Church.

We come now to the fourth feature of Christ's catholicity, the conditions of Christian fellowship. This brings up questions of Church discipline, the causes of suspension, expulsion, excommunication, the use of the ban, and the like. Each Church has its own rules of fellowship and its own way of enforcing them. In some cases one may find it easy to get in, but hard to stay in. A denomination may be quite catholic in gathering in, and yet have great facility in putting out. Christ showed his catholicity in forbearance and in a tolerance whose breadth must have impressed his disciples and other orthodox followers as extraordinary. Though Peter denied him with bitter oaths, he did not cast him out; though Thomas was obstinate in his unbelief, a gentle rebuke, a practical solution of his doubt, was all the discipline administered to him. The

Master who knew all the good and guilty thoughts of each heart was slow to condemn. A brother was to be forgiven, not seven times, but "seventy times seven," or times without number. No grudging welcome was given to the prodigal son, no cold reception to the woman taken in adultery. Christian fellowship is specially needed for these; shall we seek occasion to withdraw it from them or draw them more closely to the very heart of it? We are to learn Christ's spirit from his words and acts of mercy, and remember that he came, not to destroy, but to save, not to cast away, but to reclaim, not to curse, but to bless. It should not, therefore, be the end and aim of Church discipline to get men out of the Church, but to save them to the Church, in the Church, and by the Church. We have, perhaps, not enough of the spirit of Christ. We are apt to talk of justice where he would speak of mercy; we are sometimes harsh and censorious where he would be tender and forbearing; we often give scorn where he would give pity; we fear contact where he courted it. He said the tares would get in with the wheat; we have a zeal for separating them which he did not inculcate. Of course persistency in evil courses must sunder the tie of fellowship; for "what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light and darkness?" Moreover, those who are not of us often go out from us and thus make it manifest that they are not of us. The writer does not oppose exclusion or excommunication as a last resort; he only urges that the Church proceed with all care, charity, and consideration, always remembering that it is the mission of the Church to save and not destroy. All Christians have need to pray earnestly and constantly for the spirit of Christ.

There is a class of cases included in the Methodist Discipline which do not necessarily involve immorality or gross sin. Our General Rules command many things; for example, that we refrain from doing ordinary work on the Sabbath, from buying or selling goods on which the duty has not been paid, from "giving or taking things on usury," from "uncharitable or unprofitable conversation," from "the putting on of gold and costly apparel," from "softness and needless self-indulgence," from "laying up treasure upon earth." They also enjoin "fast-

ing or abstinence." The failure to observe these rules calls for admonition; if the admonition brings no repentance, expulsion is to follow. In another place "dancing, playing at games of chance, attending theaters, horse races, circuses, dancing parties, or patronizing dancing schools" are specified as offenses to be dealt with in the same way. We will not say that these are not good and wholesome rules for the most part. Men and women ought to give to them a cheerful obedience, but from spiritual motives rather than from fear of ecclesiastical punishment. Most of these matters may be safely left to the individual conscience. We do not believe anything is gained by holding up the extreme penalty of excommunication for acts of doubtful character, or, at the worst, vanities or follies. It is better to give loving counsel in these things than to enforce punitive laws. The penitentiary is not intended to make citizens good. The prison is not the end and aim of the State. It is only for the forcible restraint of the willfully bad. So the Church is not a punitive institution. It succeeds, not by casting out men, but by getting them in and developing all their capabilities for good. Christ was not a maker of rules and regulations. He did not add to the already overburdened Jewish system for the regulation of conduct. He resolved it all into a few fundamental principles, simple, practical, and easily understood. He sought to get the heart right, and trusted to an awakened and quickened conscience and the individual sense of responsibility in making choice to guide safely in the graces of the Christian life up to the divine standard.

Churches are uncatholic in prescribing minute and rigid rules of conduct, as when they excommunicate men for membership in secret societies, or for taking up arms, or for voting at elections, or for not conforming to a particular style of dress or mode of wearing the hair. Whom Christ would not turn away Christ's Church must not cast out. Beautiful was the lesson he gave in the house of Simon the Pharisee when the woman "which was a sinner" anointed him with precious ointment. In Simon's eyes she was a hopeless outcast, but the Master saw her great love and great faith and commended her, and rebuked Simon. In most Churches heresy is a cause for

excommunication. If a man rejects important doctrines he is liable to trial and expulsion. In such cases a Church may show a harsh and unloving spirit and punish with excommunication sincere souls who have honest doubts as to doctrines they are unable to understand or understand imperfectly. There is a heresy of the head and a heresy of the heart. The latter is by far the more dangerous. The former may unfit one to be a teacher, the latter is likely to imperil his salvation. Intellectual doubt may be quite consistent with heart belief, and disciplinary processes for its cure may do a cruel wrong to a deeply sensitive nature. It is best to learn of the Master how to treat such cases. The poor father who came to him for his child came with little faith. The disciples had tried and failed to heal him. Doubtfully he said, "If thou canst do anything." Christ corrected him. That is not the question, he said. The one condition is, "If thou canst believe." The man responded, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief." He asserted belief; he confessed unbelief. The answer seems absurd in its inconsistency, but Christ accepted it as though it were a perfect compliance with the prescribed condition, and performed the miracle. There was no doctrine which Christ taught more faithfully than that of belief. He urged its importance again and again. He declared it was the door, the only door into the kingdom. "He that believeth not," he said, "shall be damned;" but he accepted a weak belief because it was sincere, and overlooked the unbelief because it was acknowledged with sorrow.

Methodism holds and preaches faithfully the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity, telling men they must turn from sin, love God, and have faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, in order to be saved. It does not shun to declare the whole counsel of God, but its chief care is that the fruits of faith appear in the lives of its communicants. Heart religion is better than head religion. The devils believe and tremble, but intellectual belief is not necessarily of the saving order. We have no trials of lay members for heresy, only for sowing dissension. We follow the direction of St. Paul, "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." This seeming negligence does not minister to doubt

of unbelief. Our people are quite generally sound in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, though they may differ widely on minor doctrines. Our catholicity in these things is, we believe, the catholicity of Christ. We may not have attained unto his high standard of love and tender patience; but it is our earnest desire to shut no door which he has opened, to reject no soul whom he has accepted, to exclude from our fellowship none who have been admitted to his fellowship, and above all to cause no weak brother to stumble and fall.

As a denomination we claim no exclusive rights, privileges, authority, or sanctity. We only claim to be a part of the Holy Catholic Church, with equal access to the oracles of God, equal inheritance in the riches of Christ, equal privileges in the ordinances of the Gospel, equal responsibilities in spreading "scriptural holiness over these lands," equal right to preach Christ and him crucified, equal joy in the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and equal part in the communion of saints with Christians of other names. We look upon other Churches with no desire to deny their Christian character or refuse them Christian fellowship. With John Wesley we desire to have "a league offensive and defensive with every soldier of Jesus Christ." We acknowledge the fruits of the Spirit wherever they appear, and under whatever name. We receive, in the words of the first Methodist, written in the last year of his life, "all that love God, in every Church, as our brethren and sister and mother; and in order to union with us we require no unity in opinions or modes of worship, but barely that they fear God and work righteousness." The same catholic-minded apostle declared at another time that he "dare not exclude from the Church catholic all those congregations" in which unscriptural doctrines were preached, nor those in which the sacraments were not duly administered, because that would exclude the Church of Rome. He could bear with their wrong opinions and superstitious modes of worship, provided they had "one Spirit," "one hope," "one Lord, one faith, . . . one God and Father of all," and would not scruple to "include them within the pale of the Holy Catholic Church." In his sermon against bigotry he urged the brethren not to be "con-

tent with not forbidding any that cast out devils," but in every such instance he says:

Acknowledge the finger of God. And not only acknowledge, but rejoice in his work, and praise his name with thanksgiving. Encourage whomsoever God is pleased to employ, to give himself wholly up thereto. Speak well of him wheresoever you are; defend his character and his mission. Enlarge, as far as you can, his sphere of action; show him all kindness in word and deed; and . . . if he forbid you, do not forbid him.

Surely Wesley was very close to the heart of the Master when he wrote these words. He caught the spirit of the catholicity of Christ. We must quote him once again from a sermon on "A Catholic Spirit." He said:

I dare not, therefore, presume to impose my mode of worship on any other. I believe it is truly primitive and apostolical; but my belief is no rule for another. I ask not, therefore, of him with whom I would unite in love, Are you of my Church? of my congregation? Do you receive the same form of Church government, and allow the same Church officers with me? Do you join in the same form of prayer, wherein I worship God? I inquire not, Do you receive the supper of the Lord in the same posture and manner that I do? Nor whether in the administration of baptism you agree with me in admitting sureties for the baptized, in the manner of administering it, or the age of those to whom it should be administered? Nay, I ask not of you (as clear as I am in my own mind) whether you allow baptism and the Lord's supper at all. Let all these things stand by; we will talk of them, if need be, at a more convenient season. My only question at present is this: "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?"

If this is catholicity this is what Methodism loves and cherishes. We say not that we are more catholic than all other denominations, we say not that we better interpret the mind of Christ; that would be bigotry, and we hate bigotry. We say not that we have "already attained," or "were already perfect;" but we strive to keep close to the Master, and learn to love as broadly, deeply, and tenderly as he loved. In the words of our beloved Bishop Simpson: "We live to make our own Church a power in the land, while we live to love every other Church which exalts our Christ."

H. K. Carroll.

Art. II.—THE GENTLEMAN IN LITERATURE.

Humor is half pathos and more. This sword has two edges. On the one, shining like burnished silver, you may see smiles reflected as from a mirror; on the other tears stand thick, like dews on flowers at early morning of the later spring. Humor is a dual faculty, as much misconceived by those who listen as by those who speak. We do not always have wit to know the scope of what we do. Thoughts of childhood, says the poet, are long, long thoughts; but who supposes childhood knows they are? Nor is this altogether a fault. To feel the sublime sequence of all we did would burden us as Atlas was burdened by holding up the sky. Life might easily come to be sober to somberness, which is a thing unwholesome and undesirable. Sunlight must have its way. Darkness must not trespass too far, and every morning says to every night, "Thus far, but no farther."

To many readers *Don Quixote* seems fantastic, and Cervantes a laughter-monger. Cervantes had suffered much. His life reads like a novelist's tale. He belonged to the era of Spenser and Shakespeare, of Philip II and William the Silent, of Leicester and Don John of Austria, of the great Armada and the Spanish Inquisition, of Lope de Vega and Cervantes—for he was in the Hispanian peninsula his own greatest contemporary; and to this hour this battle-scarred soldier of fortune stands the tallest figure of Spanish literature. His was a lettered rearing, and a young manhood spent as a common soldier. At Lepanto he lost hand and arm. In five long, weary, and bitter years of slavery among Algerine pirates he held up his head, being a man, plotted escape in dreams and waking, fought for freedom as a pinioned eagle might, was at last rescued by the society for the redemption of slaves, sailed home from slavery to penury, came perilously near the age of threescore poverty-stricken and unknown, when, like a sun which leaps from sunrise to noon at a single bound, this maimed soldier sprang mid-sky, impossible to be ignored or forgotten, and disclosed himself the marked Spaniard of his era, and on the same day of 1616

Cervantes and Shakespeare stopped their writing in an unfinished line, and not a man since then has been able to fill out the broken meaning. This man had not wine but tears to drink. Yet he jests, and the world laughs with him, though we feel sure that while his age and after ages laugh and applaud Miguel Cervantes sits with laughter all faded from his face and the white look of pain settled about his lips, while tears "rise in the heart and gather to the eyes." Tears sometimes make laughter and jest the wilder. Men and women laugh to keep their hearts from breaking.

Cervantes has ostensibly drawn a picture of a madman, and in fact has painted a gentleman. What his intent was who can be so bold as to say? What part of his purpose was we know. He would excoriate a false and flippant chivalry. Contemporaneous chivalry he knew well, for he had been common soldier, wounded and distressed. He had seen what a poor triviality that once noble thing had grown to be. Institutions become effete. Age is apt to sap the strength of movements as of men. Feudalism and the Crusades had commissioned the knight-errant; and now when law began to hold sword for itself the self-constituted legal force, knight-errantry, was no longer needed. But to know when an institution has served its purpose is little less than genius. Some things can be laughed down which cannot be argued down. A jest is not infrequently more potent than any syllogism. Some things must be laughed away, other things must be wept away; so that humor and pathos are to be ranked among the mighty agents for reform. And one purpose Cervantes had was to laugh a tawdry knight-errantry off the stage. In long years of soldiery we doubt not he had grown to hate this empty boast, and his nursed wrath now breaks out like a volcano. This was his apparent purpose; but who can say this was all his purpose? "King Lear" has a double action. Mayhap, *Don Quixote* has a double meaning. We are always attaching meanings to works of genius. But you cannot tie any writer's utterance down to some poor altitude. Great utterances have at least a half-infinite application. Tennyson felt this, saying—as we read in his son's biography of him—regarding explanations of his "Idyls of the King:" "I hate to

be tied down to 'this means that,' because the thought within the image is much more than any one interpretation;" and, "Poetry is like shot silk with many glancing colors. Every reader will find his own interpretation according to his ability and according to his sympathy with the poet." What is true of poetry is true of all imaginative literature. An author may not have analyzed his own motif in its entirety. In any case we may hold to this, Don Quixote was a gentleman, and is the first gentleman whose portrait is given us in literature. We have laughed at Don Quixote but have learned to loved him. The "knight of the rueful countenance," as we see him now, is not himself a jest, but one of literature's most noble figures; and we love him because we must. Was it mere chance that in drawing this don Cervantes clothed him with all nobilities and shows him—living and dying—good, courageous, pure, in short a man? This scarcely seems a happening. Seas have subtle undercurrents. We venture Don Quixote has the same, and marks the appearance of a gentleman in literature, since which day that person has been a recurring, ennobling presence on the pages of fiction and poetry.

A gentleman is a comparatively recent creation in life, as in letters. Christ was the foremost and first gentleman. After him all gentility patterns. With the law of the imagination we are familiar, which is this: Imagination deals only with materials supplied by the senses. Imagination, in other words, is not strictly originative, but rather appropriative, giving a varied placing to images on hand, just as the kaleidoscope makes all its multiform combinations with a given number of pieces. Imagination does not make materials, is no magician, but is an architect. Admitting this law, we can readily see how the creation of a gentleman does not lie in the province of imagination. Homer's heroes are the men Homer knew, with a poetic emphasis on strength, stature, prowess. His era grew warriors and nothing else, and so Homer paints nothing else. Human genius has limits. Man is originative in character; and poets—"of imagination all compact"—catch this new form of life, and we call the picture poetry. All civilization to the days of Jesus produced but one character, so far as we may read, worthy to be thought a gentleman, and this was

Joseph, the Jew, premier of Egypt. He is the most manly man of pre-Christian civilizations. Classic scholarship can show no gentleman Greece produced. Greek soil grew no such flowers beneath its radiant sky. Plato was philosopher, not gentleman. Socrates was an iconoclast, but not a manly man and helpful spirit. Greek heroes were guilty of atrocious and unthinkable sins. Test them by this canon of Alfred Tennyson: "I would pluck my hand from a man, even if he were my greatest hero or dearest friend, if he wronged a woman or told her a lie;" and, so tested, where must Greek heroes be classified. Greece and Rome produced heroes but not gentlemen. Julius Cæsar was the flower of the Latin race. Nothing approximates him. Great qualities cluster in him like stars in the deep sky. But his ambition was like to that of Milton's Satan, and his lust was a bottomless pit. As a national heroic figure Julius Cæsar is dazzling as a sun at summer noon; but as gentleman he cuts poorer figure than Lancelot or Sir Tristram. The gentleman is not an evolution but a creation. Christ created the gentleman as certainly as he created the world.

Now literature is what Emerson says genius is, a superlative borrower. The state of a civilization at a given time will gauge the poet's concept. He cannot pass beyond the world's noblest notions to his hour. If Greece and Rome produced no man, settle to it that Greek and Roman literatures will produce no man. Sculptor as Phidias, statesman as Pericles, dramatist as Æschylus, general as Themistocles, stern justice as Aristides, Greece can show; and such characters the historians, dramatists, and epic poet will delineate and celebrate. Horace is a looking-glass, and holds his genius so as to catch the shadows of men passing by. This poets do, and can do no more. They are not strictly creative. We mistake their mission. God has somehow kept the creative power in his own possession. Man can appropriate; God can create. So what we find is that ancient literature never attempted depicting a gentleman. Those days had no such persons. But Christ came and set men a-dreaming. He filled men's souls to the brim with expectation and wonder akin to fear and anticipation of impossibilities; and what he was men fondly and greatly

dreamed they might aspire to be. And thus the gentleman became a prospective fact in life and after life, in literature; for we think it has been fairly shown how literature produces no type till life has produced it first. Literature is not properly productive, but reproductive, not creative, but appropriative. As men climb a mountain all a dark, still night, to watch a sunrise, so the race began to climb toward manhood. The night was long, and this mountain taller than Himalayas; and man slept not, but climbed. His groping toward this sunrise of soul is the epic of history. Dante knew not a gentleman, and could not dream him therefore. Mediævalism learned to paint the Madonna's face but not manhood's look. Character is the last test of genius. Man saw gray streaks of dawn rimming far, ragged peaks, and still he climbed, and on a morning beheld the sunrise! And if you will note, 'tis Don Quixote standing on the mountain's crest.

Some things can be adequately represented in marble. For "the Laocoön" marble is probably the best method of expression. Fear, superhuman effort, anguish, brute strength, mastering human strength—these are the thoughts to be expressed, and are brought out in marble with singular clearness and fidelity. For some things color is a necessity, and marble would be totally inadequate. "The Greek Slave" may be put in stone; the bewildering face of a world's Christ can never be seriously attempted in marble, the futility of such attempt being so apparent. Color, lights, and shadows are essential to give hints of deep things, of deep soul. Hoffman must have canvas and colors. You must paint the Christ. And some facts cannot be painted. They are abstract, and cannot be intimated by anything short of words. You can paint a man, Saul of Tarsus or Charlemagne, but cannot paint a gentleman; for he represents no single majesty but an essential and intricate balance of all useful, great, and noble qualities. This gentleman can be painted only by words; so that literature must be the solitary means of making apparent the shadow of that divine thing, a gentleman.

Don Quixote becomes intensely interesting, then, as a new attempt in creative genius. But dare we think a gentleman could be ludicrous and fantastic?—for this the don

was. We revolt against the notion that so gracious a thing could be grotesque. Yet is this our mature thought? Do not the facts certify that from this world's unregenerate standpoint manliness is grotesque? Was not Christ looked upon as mad? Did not his ideas of manliness appear as nothing other than fantastic, when he would substitute love for might, meekness for braggadocio, and purity of heart for an omnipresent sensuality? What were his ideals of manhood but battling with windmills or being enamored of a myth? Tested by standards of this world's make his notions and conduct were sheerly fantastic. As recorded on one occasion, "They laughed him to scorn;" and this they did many another time, covertly or openly. Indeed, grasping the state of civilization as then existing and comprehending Christ's unearthy idea of what a gentleman was, we cannot be slow to perceive how ludicrous this conception would be to the Roman world. Tall dreams seem madness. Hamlet's feigned madness puzzles us even yet. Many an auditor heard Columbus with a smile illy concealed behind his beard. All high ideality sounds a madman's babble. To see a true life live truly will strike many as a jest and others as pathos too deep for sobs.

Don Quixote conceived a man ought to live for virtue. To be self-dedicated to the help of others; to be courageous as an army which had never met defeat; to be self-forgetful, so that hunger, pain, thirst, fatigue become trifles; to have love become absorbing; to fill the mind's unfathomed sky with dreams outshining dawns; to count honor to be so much more than life as that honor is all and life is naught; to interpret all men and women at their best, and so to expect good and not suspicion evil; to meet all men on the high level of manhood; and to love God with such persistency and eagerness as that the soul's solitudes are peopled with him as by a host—if this be not a gentleman we have misconceived the species. Read this history of his early and later battles for right, and you will not find an impurity of word, suggestion, thought. God's lilies are not cleaner. We confess that the knight's love for Ducinea del Tobosa moves us to tears. We never can smile or jest at him when his heart and lips hold with fealty to an ideal love. His love created her. He found her a clod, but flung

r into the sky and made her a star. Is not this love's uniform history? Blinded not of lust or ambition but of ideality. Saul met Christ at noon, and was blinded by his vision; and would not all brave men covet blindness thus incurred? And better to be blinded as Don Quixote by a ravishing ideal than to see, besotted in soul and shut out from God. That humorous figure astride lean Rosinante, esquired by pudgy, sensible Sancho, eager for chances to be of use, faithful to his love as dawn to sun, strong in his desire of being all eyes to see distress, all ears to hear a call for succor, sitting a dark night through in vigil tireless, courageous, waiting for day to charge on what proved to be fulling hammers making tumult with their own stamping, or again asleep in the inn bed, fighting with wine skins and dreaming himself battling with giants—this does not touch us as being humorous so much as it does as being pathetic, unspeakably pathetic and manfully courageous. We see, but do not feel, the humor. We have followed Don Quixote as faithfully as Sancho Panza on his "Dapple;" have seen him fight, conquer, suffer defeat, ride through his land of dreams; have seen his pasteboard helmet; have noted melancholy settle round him as shadows on the landscape of an autumn day; have seen him grow sick, weaken, die, but have known in him only high dreams, attempted high achievings; have found him honor's soul and holding high regard for women; have been spectator of goodness as unimpeachable as heaven, and purity deep like that which whitens round the throne—a human soul given over to goodness and named, for cause, "Quixada the Good." And his goodness seems a contagion.

For two and a half centuries since Cervantes painted this picture of a gentleman literature has given less or more of heed to similar attempts, though as result, as we suppose, there are but two life-size pictures which unhesitatingly we name gentlemen, as soon as our eyes light on them. Profile or silhouette of him there has been, but of the full-length, full-face figure, only two. Shakespeare did not attempt this task. Aside from Hamlet—who was not meant to sit for this picture, though he had been no ill character for such sitting—there is not among Shakespeare's men an intimation of such undertaking. Would this princely genius had put his hand to this

attempt, though, as seems clear to us, Shakespeare did not conceive a gentleman. His ideas were not quite whitened with Christ's morning light, enough to have perceived other than the natural man. Shakespeare's men are always "a little lower than the angels," whereas a gentleman might fittingly stand among angels as a brother. This one star never swung across the optic glass of our great Shakespeare. That spiritual-mindedness which is life he scarcely possessed. This was his limitation. Spenser stood higher on this mount of vision. He conceived and executed a picture of pure womanhood, and, had he attempted, might have sketched a wondrous face and figure of a gentleman. Even as it was, he gave intimations of this coming king. He seems one who gathers fuel for a fire but never sets the flame. His figures shift and present no central character of manhood who grows and furnishes standard of comparison. Milton's genius was cast in a cyclopean mold, and needed distances remote as heaven and hell to give right perspective to his figures, and his supreme art concerns itself with Satan and archangels and God.

Of this ideal gentleman we have had growing hints. Literature more and more concerns itself with spiritual quantities. The air of our century is aromatic with these beautiful conceptions, as witness Jean Valjean, Dr. MacClure, Deacon Phoebe, Sidney Carton, Daniel Deronda, Donal Grant, Bayard, Red Jason, Pete, Captain Moray, John Halifax, and Caponsacchi. Some of these pictures seem more than side views. But a gentleman should be, must be, nobly normal. He is a balance of virtue. Symmetry impresses us in him, as when we look at the Parthenon. All his powers are in such delicate balance as that they seem capable of easy perturbation, yet are, in fact, imperturbable as stars. The gentleman in life is becoming a common figure. We have known such—so strong, quiet, heroic, calm, sure of the future, knit to God, big with fidelity and faith that they translated into literal speech the holy precepts of the book of God. So tested, this world grows surely better. Man has lost in romantic glitter of costume and bearing, but has gained immeasurably in manhood. The Gospel is peopling the world with men. To suppose God meant to change men to saints was a misconception. St. Simeon Sty-

lites was that old misconception realized. We can but honor him, so vast his hunger, so noble his strife, so courageous his attitude, when he shouts, "I smote them with the cross;" but St. Simeon did not realize God's notion. Goodness is fraternal, accessible, genial. John Storm, in Hall Caine's *The Christian*, is susceptible to the same criticism. He is not balanced. He means well, but is erratic, fitful, lacking center. He is like a bird lost in storms, flying in circles. He thought to be a saint, whereas Christ did not come to make saints, but to make men; and the sooner we realize that a "saint" or a "Christian" is not the end of the Gospel the better will it be for Christianity. Christianity is God's method of making men, and Christianity is not an end but a means. When God gets his way he wants to have this world populated with men and women. Whether Caine meant John Storm for an ideal Christian we cannot say. There is strength here, as in all he has written, but Storm's lacks are many and great. He is enthusiast but flighty. He means well, but is spasmodic in its display. Storm might have grown into a hero had he lived longer, and as a flame leaped high at some point in his career. Both as man and Christian he disappoints us. Red Jason, in *The Bondman*, is a worthier contribution to the natural history of the gentleman. View him how you will, he is great. His moral stature lifts itself like the mass of a mountain. His nature seems a fertile field seeded down to heroisms, and every seed germinating and growing to maturity. Jason has virtues vast of girth as huge forest trees, but he is scarcely companionable. Glooms gather round him as night about a hamlet in a valley. He is moral, imposing, heroic, yet is there something lacking—is it voice, self-poise, what?—lacking of being quite a gentleman. Nor was he shaped for such a rôle by his creator, but was meant to sit for the portrait of a hero. And such he is to the point of moving the spirit, as by the lightning's touch.

Goethe was not capable of conceiving a gentleman. His Wilhelm Meister and himself fall so low in the scale of worth as to preclude his seeing so serene a face. Goethe's sky was clouded, and fine lines of finest character are only brought out under unhindered sunlight. Manhood is a serene thing. Though storm bolts rain about it thick as hail, the quiet of

deep seas reigns in it. And Dumas' men are all *bons vivants* save the son of Porthos. These dusty and bloody guardsmen had not enough moral fiber to fill a thimble. They think the world of men and women a field for forage. This physical dash and courage, this galloping of steeds and sabers pummeling steeds' sides, stands instead of character. In *Marius the Epicurean* Walter Pater has given us, as we think, a true picture of one who in the Roman era aspired to be a man. He is cold, and in consequence barren; but such is an accurate reading of Roman attempts at manhood, for ordinary Epicureanism was fervid to sensuality, and the Stoic was frigid. To heathen conception there was no middle ground. The warm color on cheek, the morning in the eyes, the geniality in the hand, the fervor at the heart, the alert thought, the winged imagination, the sturdy will, the virile moral sense, the responsive conscience, the courage which laughed to die for duty—these could not be amalgamated. Heroic qualities have always been native to the soul, as warmth to the south wind. All history is rich with tapestries of tragic and colossal heroisms, so as to make us proud that we be men. Heroisms are harsh, but manliness is tender. And in this seeming irreconcilability lies the difficulty of constructing a gentleman.

But attempts thicken. In our own century they group together like violets on a stream's bank fronting the sun in spring. Literary artists, knowing how difficulties hedge this attempt, hesitate. There are many hints of the gentleman; let us be glad for that, seeing we are enriched thereby. *Rab and his Friends* gives so strong a picture of stolid strength in love's fidelity which knows to serve and suffer and die without a moan or being well aware of aught save love. And Dr. MacLure is a dear addition to our company of manhood, shouldering his way through Scotland's winter's storm and cold, because need calls him; serving as his Master had taught him so long ago; forgetting himself in absorbing thought for others; lonely as a fireless hearth; longing for friendship which would not fail; reaching for Drumsheugh's hand and holding it when death was claiming the good physician's hand. We could easily conceive we had been seated at the deathbed of a gentleman. Deacon Phoebe stands as a character in Annie

Trumbull Slosson's *Seven Dreamers*, a book which outside Cable's *Old Creole Days* is to us the most perfect series of brief character sketches drawn by an American author, and entirely worthy to stand by *A Window in Thrums*, and *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, and *In Ole Virginia*. Deacon Phoebe has forgotten himself. Unselfishness does not often rise to such heights. This "dreamer" of "Francony way" is full brother to Sidney Carton, born across the seas. Self-forgetfulness so beautiful as that even name and sex become a memory dim as a distant sail upon an evening sea—this must be a sight fitted to bring laughter to the heart of God. Deacon Phoebe is one trait in a gentleman. Sidney Carton is of the same sort, save that the hero element stands more apparent. His is a larger field, a more attractive background, thus throwing his figure into clearer relief. Deacon Phoebe was the self-abasement of humility, Sidney Carton is the supreme surrender of love; but the end of both is service. There ought to be a gallery in our earth from which men and women might lean and look on nobilities like Sidney Carton. That beatified face, that hand holding a woman's trembling hand, what time he whispered for her comfort, "I am the resurrection and the life," as the crowded tumbrel rattled on to the guillotine and he faced death with smile as sweet as love upon his face—and love making a man thus divine—this is Sidney Carton, who stirs our soul as storms stir the seas. Bonaventure, as drawn by Cable, is of similar design. He is unconscious as a flower, but had learned, as his schoolmaster-priest had taught him, to write "self" with a small "s;" so an untutored soul, lacerated with grief, pierced by suffering, gave himself over to goodness and help, becoming absorbed therein. Such is Bonaventure. He was what Tennyson has said of "the gardener's daughter," "a sight to make an old man young."

Love has learned to work miracles in character. Rains do not wash air so clean as love washes character, whiting "as no fuller on earth can white" it. And how constantly manhood neighbors with love is a beautiful and noteworthy circumstance. Here place Pete, in the *Manxman*. You cannot overpraise him. Some esteem him a fabulous character, but, knowing his island and people well, we feel sure he is flesh

and blood, though flesh and blood so uncommon and superior stagger our faith for a moment. It is the glory of our race that at rare springtimes it bursts into such bloom that painter and poet are both bankrupt in attempting to copy this loveliness. Pete is such an effort of nature. His letters to himself, written as from his wife, to cover her shame and desertion, present a spectacle so magnanimous and pathetic as to upbraid us that we had never learned nobilities so sublime. Love made him great. And Macdonald, in *Donal Grant*, has shown us a strong, pure soul of moral strength, religious appetencies, determined goodness, of elevation of character, of strength and wisdom, so that in his accustomed walk he might have met Sir Percivale or Sir Launfal. Good, and given over to God, he was found out by love; and love did with him as with us all—love glorified him. In his clean life is something sturdy you might lean on as on a staff and have no fear. So is Enoch Arden, made hero by love. In love, remembrance, and absence of self he is manhood. We have all wept with Arden, finding our faces wet with tears though not knowing we wept. His story never grows trite. Each time we read new light breaks from this character as if it were a sun. The sight of him when he, like a poor thief looking in at the window,

> Because things seen are mightier than things heard,
> Stagger'd and shook, holding the branch, and feared
> To send abroad a shrill and terrible cry
> Which in one moment, like the blast of doom,
> Would shatter all the happiness of the hearth.
> . . . . . .
> And feeling all along the garden wall,
> Lest he should swoon and tumble and be found,
> Crept to the gate, and open'd it and closed
> As lightly as a sick man's chamber door
> Behind him, and came out upon the waste;

and when,

> Falling prone, he dug
> His fingers into the wet earth, and pray'd—

the sight of him is as unforgetable as a man's first look upon the woman he loves. The poet was right. Arden was a "strong, heroic soul," and when he woke, arose, and cried, "A sail! a sail!" it was God's nobleman who sighted it.

Daniel Deronda and *John Halifax, Gentleman*, may wisely be classed together as attempts of competent artists to sketch a gentleman. Whether they have failed in the attempt we would not make bold to say, but for some reason the characters impress us as being scarcely adequate. Both faces are open, and lit as by a lamp of truth; their lives are sweet as meadows scented with new-mown hay; we become sworn friends to both without our willing it; they have nothing to take back, because words and deeds are faithful to their best manhood; they are strong, and women lean on them, which, aside from God's confidence, is the highest compliment ever paid a man. Deronda is a man among aristocrats, Halifax a man among plebeians and commercial relations; but manhood is the same quality wherever found, for God has made all soils salubrious for such growth. But these do not compel, though they do charm, us. Bayard, in *A Singular Life*, may fall in with Deronda and Halifax. Tragedy darkens at "the far end of the avenue." Bayard is a social reformer in attempt, though of the safe and right type, meaning to change man that there may be wrought a change in institutions; he runs atilt with Calvinian orthodoxy as Methodism does, and loves God and his fellow-men and a good woman, and finds no toil burdensome if he may be of spiritual help and healing. "A singular life" he lives, but singular because it is the Gospel life, and he merits the name the slums gave him, "the Christ-man." He is helpful, few more so, and knows power to stir us, which in the event is the superb quality in character. Captain Moray, in *The Seats of the Mighty*, and Henry Esmond, in *Henry Esmond*, are gentlemen of military mold, and we love them both because they make for lordly inspiration in the soul. Esmond must always keep his hold on men as a hero. These two soldiers need no one to remind us they know how to die, and know that other, larger thing—how to live. Esmond, over a long stretch of life lying in our sight, walked ever as a prince. Any national literature might be glad for one such as he. Our imagination takes wings when we think of him. Such cleanness, such lack of self, such self-poise and firmness, such singleness of love and devotion, such inaptitude for anything not noble, such tense heroic purposes, such stalwart

intention to make himself a man! He is greatness, and his story to be read as a tonic. He recruits heroisms in the heart and rests us when we grow weary. Thackeray is reported by Anthony Trollope to have called his creation, Esmond, "a prig;" he might better have called him a gentleman, for such he is, or narrowly lacks of being. Indeed, did not Thackeray present another who is altogether gentleman, Esmond would be catalogued as this ideal character, for he misses it so little, if at all, and is by odds most magnetic of Thackeray's creations. And Browning's Caponsacchi and Hugo's Valjean have the true instincts of gentlemen. Valjean redeemed himself from worse than galley slavery—from debauched manhood to spiritual nobility bewildering in holy audacity and achievement. Were there a pantheon for souls who have struggled up from the verge of hell to stand in the clear light of heaven, be sure Valjean would be there. Volumes are requisite for his portrait, and we have only room for words! Of Caponsacchi take the pope's estimate as accurate, "Thou sprang'st forth hero." And Pompilia conceived him rightly, for he minded her of God. What farther need be said? Is not that panegyric enough for any man? Because he was so strong, so fearless, so pure, so gifted with great might to love, so keen to see Pompilia was pure as a babe's dreams, and the light on his forehead falls from the lattices overhead—the lattices of heaven—we love him. Had his figure been fully drawn we should have had a gentleman. Nor are we sure he ought not to be so catalogued; as he is we find no fault in him. He minds us of the morning star.

Two characters in literature since Don Quixote are life-size gentlemen, and these are Colonel Newcome and King Arthur, as drawn by Thackeray and Tennyson, men of one era and pure souls. In these characters is evident deliberation of intent to create gentlemen. This article has given no heed to biography or history, because these concern themselves with truth as observed, and are therefore not imaginative. What we are considering is an ideal person fashioned after the pattern discovered in good lives, which happily grow more and more plentiful as years multiply. Besides, biography can never get at the real man, for biography is a story of doing,

while what we need is a story of soul. In Boswell's *Johnson* or in Anthony Trollope's *Autobiography* there is approach to what we care to know; but in the life of Jowett or Tennyson, though both are admirable specimens of biography, what man among you but closed those books with a sense of, not dissatisfaction, but unsatisfaction? What we were really hungry for was not there. What Jowett was which made him a part of the lifeblood of English thought and Englishmen—who found that out? Some things never can be told unless the poets or prose dramatists tell them. Poetry and fiction do what history and biography fail to do—make us interior to a soul's true life. Colonel Newcome is all gentleman. He hangs a curtain of silence over one room in his life. To his wife, mother of his beloved Clive, he will make no reference. Not bad, but frivolous and weak and querulous, she was; but Colonel Newcome never whispers it. What had made many misanthropes made him a better man. No bitterness tainted his spirit. Pure women put him in a mood of worship, as they ought to put us all. He could in conduct, if not in memory, forget hurts and wrongs, which is one mark of a large spirit. His was, his biographer affirms, "a tender and a faithful heart." In him paternity and maternity met, which is a conjunction we have not given heed to as we ought, in thinking on the heart. Motherhood is in the best fatherhood. Not long since we met a minister who, on our mentioning a black and scrawny village, said, with love-lit face and ringing, jubilant voice, "O yes, that is where my boy was born!" How true hearts do remember! And Colonel Newcome loved his son with such sweet and wide fidelity as makes the heart covet him for father. All those days of separation from his son he thought of him "with such a constant longing affection." And his joy on seeing his son once more is the joy of one getting home to heaven. "To ask a blessing on his boy was as natural to him as to wake with the sunrise, or to go to rest when the day was over. His first and last thought was always the child." He expects good of people, will say no ill of any, cannot understand Sir Brian Newcome's frigid reception, and is hurt by it as by a poisoned arrow shot by the hill tribes in far India; he cannot tolerate foul thought

or speech, burns hot with righteous wrath against Captain Costigan when he sings a vile song, thundering "Silence!" "We ought to be ashamed of doing wrong. We must forgive other people's trespasses if we hope forgiveness of our own. His voice sank low as he spoke, and he bowed his honest head reverently." How unostentatious his bravery, and riches puffed him up not a trifle! How alert to love, how open to enjoyment, how young his heart and how pure! What simplicity and what grave courtesy, particularly to women, how wide those windows of his soul open toward heaven, how magnanimous, how sad his face and heart, how sensitive his nature to any lack of love on dear Clive's part—though to his own heart he will not admit such lack exists, sitting above in his cheerless room listening to his son's merry-making, that son glad to be left free of his father's presence—how bravely he bore poverty when financial ruin came, not missing wealth for himself but for him he loved, and how he grieved for those who had lost through him! He was not faultless. Men are not often that; but his anger rose from his heart. His indignation was for those he loved. We can see him now, as if he lived among us yet. His honest, melancholy face, his loose clothes hanging on his loose limbs, sitting silent with his sad eyes, a bankrupt giving over his pension for reimbursing those who had lost by him, and his eagerness for wealth for love's sake, always thinking of somebody else—such is this gentleman who trusts in God. And thus simple, noble, unhumiliated:

> I chanced to look up from my book toward the swarm of black-coated pensioners, and among them—among them—sat Thomas Newcome. His dear old head was bent down over his prayer book; there was no mistaking him. He wore the black gown of the pensioners of the Hospital of Grey Friars. His order of the Bath was on his breast. He stood among the poor brethren uttering the responses to the psalm. . . . His own wan face flushed up when he saw me, and his hand shook in mine. "I have found a home, Arthur," said he, for save this he was homeless. As death came toward him his mind wandered, driven as a leaf is driven by wandering winds. He headed columns in Hindustan; he called the name of the one woman he had loved. In death, as in life, his thought was for others, for Clive, dear, dear Clive. He said, "Take care of him when I'm in India;" and then with a heartrending voice he

called out, "Leonore, Leonore!" She was kneeling by his side now. The patient voice sank into faint murmurs; only a moan now and then announced that he was not asleep. At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat time. And just as the last bell struck a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little and quickly said, "*Adsum!*" and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo, he, whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of his Master.

Small wonder if, in India, they called Thomas Newcome "Don Quixote."

And King Arthur is Alfred Tennyson's dream of a gentleman. Arthur is manhood at its prime. He was strong, a warrior, a self-made man since the foolish questioned, "Is he Uther's son?" Mystery and miracle mix with his history, as is accurate, seeing no life grows tall without the advent of miracle. He is rescuer of a realm from anarchy, founder of the Round Table—an order of knighthood purposed to include only pure knights—was not spectacular, for we read that others were greater in tournament than he, but he greater than all in battle, from which we see how great occasions called out his greatness. He measured up to needs. Though often deceived, he was optimist, hoping the best from men. He counted life to be a chance for service. There was a hidden quality in him, as when he, unknown to all, went out from Camelot to tilt with Balin and overthrew him. His life was pure as the heart of "the lily maid of Astolat," and demanded in man a purity as great as that of woman. His love was mighty, unsuspicious, tender. He was himself a king, born to rule, fitted to inspire. No littleness sapped his greatness. He rejoiced in others' strength, prowess, victory. His was an eye quick to discover merit in woman or man, as in Lynette. His heart was tender, and a cry for help awoke him from deep sleep. He hated foulness as he hated hell. He was like a sky, so high, pure, open. Himself makes an era, for his age clusters about him as if he were a sun to sway a system. Like Cordelia, in *Lear*, he is a figure in the background, yet despite his actual slight participancy in the "Idyls of the King," he always seems the one person of the poem. What is Lancelot matched with him, or pure Sir Galahad? If

knighthood misconceived King Arthur then, men do not misconceive him now. A great spirit must not murmur if misconceived. The world will cluster to him hereafter, himself being God's hand to lift them to his Alp of nobleness. Arthur's life upbraids men for their sin. His very purity alienated Guinevere. Goodness has tempests in its sky, and storms make morning murk as night; and one true knight, King Arthur, goes sick at heart to battle with rebels in the West. Lancelot and Guinevere are fled; Modred has raised standard of rebellion; some knights are dead, slain in battle or searching for the Holy Grail, some have left off knighthood—and King Arthur is defeated! Nay, this cannot be. He rides into the battle, having forgiven Guinevere "as Eternal God forgives"—the battle where

> Host to host
> Shocks, and the splintering spear, the hard mail hewn,
> Shield-breakings, and the clash of brands, the crash
> Of battle-axes on shatter'd helms, and shrieks
> After the Christ, of those who falling down
> Look'd up for heaven, and only saw the mist.

And, the battle ended, Arthur moans, "My house hath seen my doom;" but he has not forgotten God, nor hath God forgotten him. God is his destination, and he trusts him now as in the golden yesterdays:

> I have lived my life, and that which I have done
> May He within himself make pure!

And Arthur found, not sorrow nor defeat, but victory, for

> Then from the dawn it seem'd there came, but faint
> As from beyond the limit of the world,
> Like the last echo born of a great cry,
> Sounds, as if some fair city were one voice
> Around a king returning from his wars.

And one of earth's gentlemen was welcomed home to heaven.

W. A. Quayle.

Art. III.—THE TEACHING ELEMENT IN PREACHING.

Teaching the word of God is an essential element of pulpit work. We do not claim for it the highest function of preaching, for there is a divine element which differentiates every true preacher from a mere instructor in religion. He is one in whom the truth of God has become a living thing, consciously experienced, and which he proclaims more as a witness than as a teacher. He is, moreover, under the Holy Spirit's propulsion to press his truth to practical ends. What he teaches is not merely to be learned, but loved and obeyed. His aim is not primarily to inform the mind, but to transform the heart and life. He is called to be "a minister and witness . . . to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me." These personal and divine elements may be eliminated from the sermon and the speaker remain a teacher. But he is fallen by an immeasurable descent from the lofty height of a preacher. Retaining the name, he has lost the reality. Nevertheless, teaching is an element, and a very important one, in preaching. Jesus commanded his disciples, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." It is recorded of the apostles that "daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Paul exhorted his son in the Gospel to study to be "apt to teach."

In addition to the divine command, which is authoritative, there are other reasons which force upon us a conviction of the need of careful pulpit teaching. Among them is a manifest and deplorable ignorance of the word of God among the people. And this is true in spite of the fact that there never was a time so well furnished with books and aids to knowledge, or when men did so much reading as now. But reading is not study. Information, which is acquaintance with details of fact, is not knowledge, which is digested and systematized information. Much of the so-called knowledge of the Bible is

only "word-furnished ignorance," and confirms the oft-repeated paradox, "The secret of real ignorance is too many books." There is a brilliant smattering which passes for intelligence; and yet, "my people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." Their very information is used to their hurt. The tempter turns their little knowledge of the word of God to deflect unwary spirits from the path of truth. "It is written" is the *ignis fatuus* which has lured the overconfident into perilous marshes, and which is to be met only with an ampler knowledge.

Then, again, ignorance is a poor soil for the growth of Christian character. Emotionalism, sentiment, a speedy bloom which as speedily withers, are the product of shallow soil. Deep soil is the place for character-rooting—God's word, in which the Christian life gets its best growth. A people which casts its roots down here will be "like a tree planted by the rivers of water," and will not have a withering leaf—a holiness without vigor or decision, undistinguishable from the uncertainty of keen feelings or the simple morality of nature. Our people need soil as well as sunshine, feeding at the roots as well as at the leaves.

Another thing is apparent which impresses us with the need of more careful teaching. The drift of Christian life at this time is into forms of activity, rather than reflection. It seeks outlook rather than insight, to do rather than to be. We cannot, nor would we, resist this trend of the age. But we can and ought to seek to ennoble and preserve it, by keeping before the people the great truths out of which all correct action springs. All action has its roots in some doctrine known or unknown. All intelligent action is truth seized and applied. If, while the energetic people are hotly pursuing a useful end, we can only keep before them the great truth which is the secret and source of each duty, we will save them from that secularization of piety into which this trend of which we speak is surely leading. We will also emancipate conscience from the thraldom of utility or public opinion. From out of the deeps of the infinite the imperial voice of truth will be heard. And duty will have an unmistakable heavenliness, to distinguish it as more than of the earth.

For these reasons we emphasize the need of pulpit instruction: 1. The divine command; 2. A prevalent ignorance which menaces Christian character; 3. The drift of the age toward the secularization of religion.

In seeking to prepare himself for the most efficient teaching there are two things which should demand the preacher's consideration, his attitude to his hearers and his attitude to the truth he proposes to teach. Personal as these things are they are really vital. They lie at the very center of the science of spiritual teaching, and radiate in their application to persons and things in constantly widening segments.

All that we can attempt in this paper is to name a few particulars:

1. The pulpit teacher should have a high respect for the mental ability of his congregation. Otherwise his efforts to teach, however sincere they may be, will result in shallow commonplaces or wearisome multiplications of familiar details. We know Christian ministers who have very decided opinions concerning the educational functions of the pulpit, who at stated times attempt the instruction of their people by object lessons. In the kindergarten fashion they make a liberal use of crockery, ropes, stones, lamps, and flowers. We have yet to hear of an instance where such infantile methods have in any measure edified a congregation of adults. The implication of a childish mind in the average congregation will defeat the purpose of the teacher, for it is as offensive as it is untrue.

We once heard a preacher of ability in speaking of his congregation say, "Our people are fools." If he meant that our people are not thoroughly informed in the great facts and doctrines of the word of God, it was undoubtedly true, though a very inaccurate and coarse way of saying it. If, however, he meant that the average congregation is not made up of minds clear, vigorous, mature, receptive, quick to understand and ready to appreciate, he was utterly mistaken. Education, or the development of faculty, should not be so carelessly confounded with information, or the knowledge of things. Uninformed in matters of our sphere many of our people unquestionably are; but their minds have been disciplined in the school of life. In our land and in this stirring age stagnant

intellects are rare. Watch a congregation when a preacher steps out from his platitudes or descends from his starry rhetoric and enters with a tread of strength the arena of earnest thinking! How alert! What appetite! Electric forces, latent but a moment ago, now make the heavens magnetic with life and brilliant with light. The people can think. They love to think. And they think, not like children, but like men. Only let a preacher take great themes and put into them the mastery of his strength, separate them from the technicalities of the books, and state them in the straight English of the people, and he will have a glad and appreciative hearing.

2. Teaching in the pulpit should be made subordinate to a higher purpose, that is, to feed the hearts of a people hungry for the divine life. We do not mean by this to say that the aim of our instructions should be to help the religious life —that is a truism; but that the foremost idea of the entire discourse, manifest in it from first to last, should be spiritual. The instruction features—as its history, geography, and science—should be as the canvas on which the divine picture is painted, or the frame in which it is held. It is unwise to make the frame more prominent than the work of art. Many of our people go to the house of worship from out of the struggle of a weary week, like the Greeks who went to the temple with this as their great desire, "Sir, we would see Jesus." In the instances where that is not their conscious wish it is, nevertheless, their actual need, to which they should be awakened, as our Saviour roused the impotent man from his apathy by the question, "Wilt thou be made whole?"

There is an instinctive revolt of the Christian heart from whatever smacks of the schools in the pulpit. We heard a Christian scholar, a professor in one of our universities, say, "It makes me shiver when I hear my preacher use the word 'science' in the pulpit. I do not question his information, but in the church I want God." An able minister who had prepared a short series of Sunday night discourses on the first chapter of Genesis stated the fact in one of his most intelligent families. To his surprise this was the answer he received: "I am sorry; we do not want learned discussions in

the pulpit, but simple religion." This only voices a common sentiment, which, however, does not understand itself. It is not learning that the Christian heart rejects, for that may be made to feed the heavenly life. Archæology, philology, astronomy, and all the branches of science are the channels down which the divine truth pours into history, and we only help the divinity in man by turning these channels into the individual heart.

But to do that in such a way as not to thrust out "simple religion" as the one prominent feature of the discourse is the preacher's task. This we believe can be done by making the instruction subordinate. We have a good illustration in Drummond's celebrated discourses entitled *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. While we are not prepared to indorse the central doctrine of that series, we refer to it as an excellent example of how an accurate student in modern science can bring the main facts of his science before his congregation without in any way impairing the religious idea. So also Chalmers's astronomical sermons, full of instruction in the science of the heavens, lift his people at every step closer to God and the great fundamentals of Christian faith. The same can be done in teaching the Bible. For example, it would no doubt be an excellent thing for our people to know the details of Paul's relation to the church at Rome, the origin and character of that famous church, its thought and errors, the occasion and scope, purpose and effects, of the epistle which Paul wrote. But to announce that as our theme, and discuss it as we have studied it, would be to create an atmosphere of the school room in the sanctuary, where the air should be sweet with the incense of praise. But there are ways in which any bright-minded Christian minister can bring all that into a discourse and still preserve the flavor of the sermon. We know of one who seized upon this single fact, that Paul was for twenty-three years hindered from going to Rome as he desired and as God had promised, and then made this his theme, "the providential hindrances which a good man encounters in carrying out what is plainly right." Nothing could have a more direct bearing upon his people. He talked right into their life history. They listened intently, as to one

who was interpreting their own puzzling hindrances which were illustrated in every detail in Paul's experience. At the close of that discourse they not only rejoiced in the assurance that their difficulties were providential, and what seemed to hinder really under God helped them, but they also had before them the great facts connected with the product of the Epistle to the Romans.

3. We venture to make a third suggestion, that the synthetical method of teaching is far more effective in the pulpit than the analytical. In the Sunday school the latter method is the one most needed and most generally adopted. The child must be taught the small details of fact, and is not yet prepared for the adjusting of those facts in great systems of correlated truth. It is quite otherwise with our Sunday morning congregations. Most of our people have come up out of our Sunday school with their minds possessed already with the facts, stories, doctrines of the Bible. But these facts stand isolated, unconnected by any bond of unity. They need systematizing to give them freshness, significance, vitality. To just rehearse those familiar details, as many sermons do, is not teaching. We can conceive of few things more inane, meager, idle, and soporific than this lazy telling over what the people have read and heard a thousand times. Nor do we wonder at the sneering criticism so often made against the modern pulpit, "It has nothing new to say." But there is a way in which those facts can be brought before a people with all the charm of something new, and that is by relating them to the larger truths. These details of history, biography, philology, psalmody, geography, are each related to some great principle of essential truth. These principles are again parts of one great system which is known among us as the redemption plan. Our suggestion is to frequently take these great standard truths, such as man's nature, his destiny, the field of his development, his probation and fall, the divine anticipation and first promise, the preparation for grace by symbolism, law, history, prophecy—and so through the entire scheme of redemption so familiar to every thoughtful minister. And it would be well to carry this plan as far as the Bible guides us, even to the consummation of all things. Every item of the Bible is related directly to this

great scheme, and when we set it before the people in that relation it gets a new significance. Each item illuminates the others, and all become wondrously simplified. If it is objected that this plan requires an enormous amount of study, and compels the preacher to possess vastly more material than he is able to use, we merely reply, It does.

4. Another thing has been found effective in instructing the congregation in the word of God, namely, to frequently follow without previous announcement long and connected series of sermons on some portion of Bible history or doctrine. As an instance, let the preacher select for a theme, "The divine life imaged in the Exodus," and then step by step trace the career of Israel out of Egypt by the way of Marah, Elim, Rephidim, Sinai, Paran, Kadesh-barnea, Mount Seir, on to the conquest. Each sermon will be distinct from all the others, yet each will illumine them all. When the series is finished he has not only exhibited to his people the panorama of the heavenly life, but he also awakened an intense interest in four of the books of the Pentateuch which usually are considered very dull. And he has prepared the way for a final Sunday evening discourse on the books themselves, in which he can discuss from the Christian standpoint those historical and literary features of the books which higher criticism has thrust upon the thought of the people, and which have so disturbed the uninformed faith. When the uninstructed Christian looks upon the multitudinous flashing of meteors in the Deuteronomic spaces through which the thought of this age is passing it seems to him that the very heavens are falling. But let some intelligent friend point out to him through this entanglement of fiery lines the familiar planets and constellations—Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, the Dipper, the Pleiades, the Great Bear—holding their places steadily in the deeps; then the poor man's faith is stayed. The heavens stand sure. One of the most successful pastors of our day was Dr. William M. Taylor, of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York city, who not only gathered a large congregation, but also built up a stalwart, intelligent, influential Christian people second to none in the great city. This was a feature of his method, as witnessed by his books of published discourses on Bible characters, the parables and miracles.

As another example, let the preacher at brief intervals—say one Sunday morning of each month—discuss the key-words of the Epistle to the Romans—as wrath, law, grace, faith, election, justification, sanctification. After the discussion of these words the way is prepared for a single sermon on the entire scope of the doctrinal portion of the epistle. This effort has been actually made, and so far from proving dull to the average congregation it attracted as no glittering rhetoric possibly could. The instruction feature of Frederick William Robertson's sermons enhanced their resistless charm. His long series of expositions on Genesis, Samuel, and Corinthians held the rapt attention of his congregations to the end, and the meager notes he has left are devoured with ravenous appetite by the common people of to-day who are anxious to know the innermost meanings of the familiar facts of Bible story.

5. The pulpit teacher should not be afraid of frequent reiteration of primal Bible truths. Indeed, he should study to do so. Was not this a feature of Jesus's own method? Was it not in that way he placed this rare treasure in the memory of his disciples, and so transmitted it to history? One of the great educators of our country was once asked to name the first great rule for successful teaching. He answered, "Review, review, review." The purpose of the review is not merely to fasten the truth in the memory, but also to enlarge the conception of it by the addition of new thought or by its application to the multiplied duties and events of life. A review is not "a machine-like second movement, precisely like the first." It is another view. These primal truths, like precious gems, flash with new glories at every turn. They are foundation stones in the city of our God, and when viewed and reviewed again and again they finally stand out in the beauty and unity of a vision like that of John—a "great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God, and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal."

A. H. Tuttle.

Art. IV.—A DIVINE ROMANCE.

The age of "finds" is this. The wires weekly throb with some great find in the dust of the dead past. But here is heralded an incomparable discovery in the bustle of the living present, at our doors, within ourselves. By lineal, physical descent through the lost ten tribes the Anglo-Saxons are the seed of Abraham! Among the recent orders of "Sons" last, but not least, and wide as the English-speaking world, is the order of "The Sons of the Ten Tribes."

Outlined, the divine romance is this: The pledges to Abraham are being and are to be materially and literally fulfilled. To Joseph's half Egyptian and priestly son, Ephraim, Jacob transferred the birthright and the heritage of the globe which goes therewith. From the ten tribes parties often emigrated from Palestine. Southern Dan colonized Greece, gave letters to her, and is immortalized by Homer as the brave Danaoi battling before Troy. Others sailed in the ships of Tarshish to Ireland. Hebrews founded Etruria, and there made history long ere Rome was founded. Others forced their way northeast, and became the Aryans. Solomon's sin rent the ten tribes from David's house and gave them to Ephraim, the destined leader of God's people, Judah becoming but a stray sliver therefrom. The Bible's curses are upon Judah, but just as inevitably have its blessings come upon the portion known as Israel.

In 722 B. C. those of the ten tribes not already emigrated were carried by Sargon beyond Nineveh. From a former dynasty they became known as the "House of Omri," or "Khumry." Journeying under that name past the Black Sea, some became known to the Greeks as "Cimmerians," and at last turned up in England as "Cambrians." About Nineveh others introduced themselves as the "sons of I-saac," or briefly "Sacae," or "Scythians." Having become warlike enough to overthrow Nineveh and their masters, and later to do the same for their Jewish brethren languishing in Babylonia, and, as was predicted, having lost their religion, name, and history, together with all consciousness of their origin and iden-

tity—they appear in central Europe with their name of "I-saac-sons," beheaded to "Saxons." Others styled themselves *Goi* (Hebrew for "nation"); others, *Theou* (Greek for "of God"), which contracts to "Goth;" and others, "Goi-I-saac," or "Cossacks." Migratory Dan left waymarks upon the rivers Don and Danube, in Mace-dan(don)-ia, and Lace-dan(æ)-monia, as well as in their last continental abode, Denmark. From Solomon to Zedekiah God's promise of the scepter to David's line was literally fulfilled. So must it ever be. Hence, at Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem and the death of Zedekiah's sons, Jeremiah by divine direction rescued Jacob's pillar, for ages used as the coronation seat, David's harp, the tables of the law, and, most vital of all, Zedekiah's daughter, Tea Tephi. Imperiled more than the son of Anchises, these were at length safely delivered at the divinely appointed rendezvous in Ireland, whither the ten tribes had been gravitating for a thousand years. The king of that land, a pure-blooded scion of Israel, came, saw, and was conquered. By this wedding of Ephraim's heir with David's heiress the welded kingship and ownership of the world descend to the royal house of Great Britain. David's harp, Ireland's ancient coat of arms, is now quartered upon the royal standard, while Scotland's "Stone of Scone" destines to ever-widening domain the individual crowned while sitting thereon. Benjamin, having vainly sought to bring Judah to repentance, delivered by miracle at Titus's overthrow of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., crossed Europe as the Northmen, tarried in France as the Normans, and in 1066 A. D. knocked at England's doors and was admitted, the last straggler of the chosen tribes of Israel. Guided as by a concealed magnet for twenty-five centuries, unconsciously they were all reassembled on "the Isles of the West," as the Anglo-Saxon race of "I-saac-sons," fated to world-wide rule and inconceivable glory.

Contrary to modern infidel philology, the English tongue is but Hebrew, slightly and naturally influenced by the tongue through which it has come. Enriched beyond all peoples, they have been as unconscious of their origin, identity, and destiny. Because the Jews slew Jesus—a crime in which no Israelite had part—God by a change of features set a Cain-like mark

upon the Jew, so that he cannot hide himself or his shame. Innocent Israel, on the other hand, has been buried beyond suspicion or recognition by boundless temporal blessings. Before the eye of the world, and soon to be revealed with mighty power and effect, stand these two mysterious peoples, Saxon and Jew. In fact, they are but two branches of the one miraculous nation, not a member of which but a divine providence leads and a golden fate attends. The Bible ever distinguishes Israelites from Jews, though most confound them. Jews are invariably the two-tribed nation of Judah-Levi; Israelites are the ten-tribed nation, as a rule. The orbits of these two heavenly bodies have just been computed, and there is scheduled a world-astounding conjunction in the near future. Before these reunited twin hosts peoples of all other blood must either bend the knee or bite the dust. Assimilation or extermination is their alternative. The hour cometh and now is when the true and fateful shibboleth will be, "What think ye of the Saxons? Whose sons are they?" Some of each are becoming conscious of kinship and kingship and of the wealth of God's purpose. Soon will they recognize each other as of the same blood* and destiny, clasp hands but clinched till now, elect a house of representatives to repossess their land, enthrone the personally returning Messiah, and dispense universal law from Zion as the world's great and only capital. This event will annihilate infidelity, establish God's word, and convert the world in a day. Such is the divine romance in outline.

Its literature and adherents are increasing. Upon receiving documents from an intense advocate the writer's study of the romance began. In rapidly reading its glowing writers he confesses to feeling for weeks a strange charm. It enchanted as might the *Arabian Nights* in an opium parlor. But at the attempt to verify reasons alleged and facts affirmed the illusion

* The following current item well hints at the *dénouement* about to take place: "Charles Bennett and Mrs. Lucy Townsend have for some years been living within a few miles of each other near Clayton, Mich. Last week they discovered that they were brother and sister. Mr. Bennett is ninety years old, and Mrs. Townsend is only a few years younger. They were separated in very early childhood, and neither had heard of the other since 1816. This reunion of the long-parted relatives probably breaks the record for such events, and that a brother and sister should meet by accident after a separation of eighty years is certainly remarkable. He would be a bold novelist who introduced in any book not frankly romantic an incident so improbable."

vanished. The statements about to be traversed are from one or the other of two representative American writers.

Consider first the abuse of Scripture. It is claimed that those Jews, according to the word of the Lord, were never to be lost sight of; they were to be known in all lands by "the shew of their countenance" (Isa. iii, 9). Upon this proof-text note (1) that the word rendered "shew" occurs nowhere else in the Bible, is formed exceptionally, and its meaning is largely conjectured; (2) that of the twelve words professedly quoted from Isaiah only the last five are found there, and that those are quite different on the margin of the Revised Version; (3) that by the auxiliary verb prefixed to the professed quotation the writer has wholly garbled the passage. In its true connection and force the prophet declares that the sins of heart and hand in Judah and Jerusalem are flagrant and unblushing; that persistence therein only betokens sure disaster almost within the horizon of that generation:

> For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen;
> Because their tongue and their doings are against the Lord,
> To provoke the eyes of his glory.
> The shew of their countenance
> (*margin*, Their respecting of persons) } doth witness against them;
> They declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not.
> Woe unto their soul! for they have rewarded evil unto themselves.

Again, it is held that "the Lord said of the Jews, they were 'to be known as an astonishment,' . . . 'a byword.'" No such passage exists. True, in Deut. xxviii it is solemnly said to all the men of Israel (verse 37), "Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword." Also to Solomon (1 Kings ix, 7), "Israel shall be a proverb and a byword." But theory distinguishes Jews and Israel.

Again, it is said, "The word of God clearly intimates that Israel would lose their identity, their land, their language, their religion, and their name, that they would be lost to themselves, and to other nations lost. 'I will scatter them into corners, I will make the remembrance of them to cease from among men'" (Deut. xxxii, 26). This was spoken by Moses "in the ears of all the congregation of Israel," just as were chapters xxvii and xxviii addressed to "all the men of

Israel;" and yet, with a nose for differences which out Wellhausens Wellhausen himself, this corrupt divider of the word avers that this passage refers exclusively to ten-tribed Israel, while the other was said alone of the two-tribed Jews.

Again, it is declared, "He was not any more to them in the Hebrew tongue; but 'by another tongue will I speak unto this people' (Isa. xxviii, 11)." This is to show why, while the Jewish minority have kept their mother tongue—the Hebrew—the fiftyfold greater Israelitish section have forgotten it and now speak English. The prophet portrays a drunken revel among Ephraim's "four hundred" in Jerusalem. Priests and prophets fuddled with drink discuss and mimic faithful Isaiah's teachings and rebukes:

> Whom will (hic) he teach knowledge?
> And whom will he make to understand the message?
> Them (hic) that are weaned from the milk,
> And drawn from the breast.
> For it is (hic), "precept upon precept, precept upon precept,
> Line [*margin*, rule] upon line, line upon line,
> Here a little, there a little."

Isaiah retorts upon their drunken stammering with the vision of a foreign invasion and overthrow:

> Nay, but { by men of strange / *margin*, with stammering } lips and with another tongue,
> Will he speak to this people.

Thus does Isaiah allude to the Assyrian already coming to carry out God's retribution. Find here, if one can, the garbled phrase above, "By another tongue will I speak unto this people." The omission of the phrase preceding it is deceptive, if not meant to deceive. Does God stammer?

Bible searchers and knowers *par excellence* are these, and yet they thus quote and garble: "The name of Israel shall be no more in remembrance" (Psalm lxxxiii, 4). Similarly, the Bible teaches atheism, for it distinctly says that "there is no God" (Psalm xiv, 1). Verify Psalm lxxxiii:

> O God, keep not thou silence:
> Hold not thy peace, and be not still, O God.
> For, lo, thine enemies make a tumult;
> And they that hate thee have lifted up the head.

They take crafty counsel against thy people,
And consult against thy hidden ones.
They have said,
"Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation;
That the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance."

A subordinate, final sentence from God's enemies is bandied about in mutilated form as though it were God's decree! And this is honesty!

The deadly poison arising from the union of ignorance, a theory, and a Concordance, is seen in the following interpolated passage: "In Jer. vii, 15, we have these words: 'And I will cast you [Israel] out of my sight, as I have cast out all your brethren, even the whole seed of Ephraim.'" Here is scholarship and accuracy. Read the entire chapter. Note that Jeremiah lived long after the Israelitish captivity, and spoke (verse 1) to Judah: "The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, Stand in the gate of the Lord's house, and proclaim this word, and say, Hear the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah," etc. Throughout it is a conditional address to Judah alone, enforced by the fate already visited upon Israel. But because of its words, "I will cast you out of my sight," forsooth, it must be referred to Israel alone! If aught is proved the theory is reversed.

But the most outrageous wresting of Scripture comes from the most brilliant and prolific of these advocates. With tearful pen has he warned professed Christians not to invite a worse than Jewish curse by wrongly answering the question, "What think ye of the Saxons? Whose sons are they?" "On the basis of the holy Writ, if Judah did in fulness have her blessing, so in verity Jehovah cannot fail to have regard to Joseph. Nor hath he failed! Read but the Book of Hosea consecutively, and this will be too plain to be gainsaid." Then follow selections from Hosea with asterisks interjected, as one has a right to suspect, for the purpose of saving space and not for the purpose of breaking or perverting the connection. Italics his, it proceeds like this:

How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim?
How shall I deliver thee, O Israel?
* * * * * * *
O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself;
But in me is thy help.

* * * * * * *
And it shall be at that day, saith the *Lord*,
That thou shalt call me Ishi (*i. e.*, My husband);
And thou shalt call me no more Baali (*i. e.*, My lord).
* * * * * * *
And they shall no more be remembered by their name.

This very pointed prophecy as to the completeness of Israel's alias, the thoroughness of her incognito, was on the point of producing conversion, when curiosity suggested a glance at the matter—doubtless irrelevant and foreign—omitted at the last line of asterisks. It turns out to be the first half of the sentence, making it read as follows (Hosea ii, 16, 17):

And it shall be at that day, saith the Lord,
that thou shalt call me Ishi (*margin*, My husband);
and shalt call me no more Baali (*margin*, My master).
For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth,
and they shall no more be mentioned by their name.

As written by Hosea the pronouns in the last half of the sentence referred to the Phœnician Baals (plu. Baalim), by the names of which devout Israelites called on Jehovah. But this dangerous practice should cease. The name "Baalim" shall pass from mouth and mind. But this champion of verbal inspiration studiously starred a single-lined half of a verse in order to imply a different force in the following pronouns. As far as verifications have been attempted by the writer, this mental dishonesty has been noted in the entire school. If there be falsification in regions accessible for verification can truth be suspected in those inaccessible?

Again, it is said, "Israel was to be unknown by name (Isa. lxv, 15); the Jews to be known as a byword and reproach (Jer. xxiv, 9)." Convincing proof—until verified! Read Isa. lxv, 1–15, Revised Version. It turns out to be the grossest misinterpretation. A portion thereof is thus sundered with more than the higher critics' skill: "My servants [Israel] shall eat, but ye [Jews] shall be hungry: behold, my servants [Israel] shall drink, but ye [Jews] shall be thirsty: behold, my servants [Israel] shall rejoice, but ye [Jews] shall be ashamed: behold, my servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit" (verses 13, 14). In truth, the prophet speaks solely of

two classes within Judah, a servant (verses 8–10) and a nonservant (11–12), a chosen and a forsaken class (contrasted in verses 13, 14). Does the reading suggest a hint that Israel and Judah are here contrasted? Contrasted are a faithful and unfaithful class in Judah, just as in the next passage, which is just as perversely applied. "The Jews to be known as a byword and reproach" (Jer. xxiv, 9). But read the context. The scene follows the first deportation of the Jewish king, Jeconiah, and the aristocracy to Babylon, called the "good figs," while others under the new king, Zedekiah, remained in Jerusalem and leaned on Egypt, proud and defiant of God and his prophet. These are the "bad figs" (verses 8–10). The Jews as such and as a whole are not cursed, only the rebellious portion. The good portion are blessed. As before, opposites are distinguished within Judah. But with a mountebank's sleight of hand the romancers build the "new apologetics" upon the most rigid assignment of one set to the ten tribes of Israel and the other to all the Jews. It were well if they comprehended the remark that "truth needs not the patronage of an untruth." They lament over the "false exegesis" which drove "poor Tom Paine" into infidelity. But Paine will rise up in the judgment with this romantic exegesis and condemn it.

The delicate tracing of the word "Saxons" to "I-saac-sons" is fondly dreamed, if not bluntly affirmed to be, more revolutionizing to human thought than was the propounding of the Copernican theory. Examine. "As to the 'new name' by which the Lord's people are to be known, when he calls them to their land, Isaiah tells us that it shall be a 'new name which the mouth of the Lord shall name.' We are to find the new name in the word of the Lord. . . . In former times this people were called 'Hebrews,' then 'children of Abraham,' then 'sons of Jacob,' and 'children of Israel;' but as we come down the stream of time we and they are called 'sons of Isaac' (Amos vii, 16)." This last is, as usual, unmitigatedly false. So read neither the English, Latin, Greek, nor Hebrew Bibles. Since for the popular ear much of the argument depends upon the occurrence of just those words, rather than those standing in the Bible, there is method in the blunder. It is true that twice in the present text of Amos is found a word "Yis-hhaq,"

which by some is deemed to be the same as the name Isaac. Once it is connected with "house," in a phrase rendered, in our English Bibles, "the house of Isaac." Immense stress is placed upon this phrase. It is the missing link between two worlds. But the searchers for truth, rather than buttressers of theory, have learned to suspect the solitary passage, especially if shrouded in early and pronounced doubt. Some, however, rush in where others dare not tread. In Amos vii, 9, is read:

> And the high places of Yis-hhaq shall be desolate,
> And the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste.

But the earliest version of the prophets, the Greek Septuagint, renders the italicized words thus, "the altars of derision," while the Vulgate says, "the high places of the idol." In the passage of the romancers the case is practically the same (Amos vii, 16):

> And now hear thou the word of Jehovah.
> Thou sayest:
> "Prophesy not against Israel,
> Pour not forth against the house of Yis-hhaq."

The Septuagint notably reads "house of Jacob," not "Yis-hhaq" at all; and, again, the Vulgate has its "house of the idol." This diversity and the Vulgate's* persistent use of "idol" at both places where the present Hebrew text reads "Yis-hhaq" begat a suspicion of a corrupt text, or, that here, as elsewhere in Amos, we have to do with one of the prophet's euphemistic sarcasms, with which they abound (see i, 5; v, 5). As said at first, the phrase "sons of Isaac" is not there. In the English Bibles it is the "house of Isaac," but the testimony of the oldest versions is decidedly against even that.

Consider next the unique derivation of the "new name." It is said: "The Anglo-Saxon descendants of Israel are explicitly so named as 'I-saac-sons' or 'Saxons,' for saith not the infallible word, 'In Isaac shall thy seed be called?'" Three things only are lacking in this etymology and new Christian evidences, namely, possibility, probability, and actuality. The

*Anglo-Israelites will not object to our deferring so much to the Vulgate, since from its use in Isa. xlix, 12, of "Australl," as the rendering of "Sinim" they aver that the prophet saw the British Anglo-Saxons hurrying to Palestine from Australia. Also from its rendering, in Obad. 20, "Sepharad" by "Bosphorus," they are sure of Britain's divine right to the Bosphorus.

word "Isaac" is evidently its starting point. But that is no Hebrew word, nor is it evident that before the Assyrian captivity, 722 B. C., a Hebrew had ever heard the word, much less called himself thereby. "Isaac" is a Greek attempt to pronounce and write a Hebrew word, and succeeds in giving but half of its consonants. In the Hebrew word are four consonants equivalent to five English sounds, thus, "Yits-hhaq," the double "h" being used to represent the rough and persistent aspirate. Later the word may have become Yis-hhaq." Had the captives gone among Greek-speakers it is possible that there, because of the difficulty of representing the "hh" sound, it might have been dropped. But even in that case the proof is challenged of other cases where the first consonant, "Yodh," at the beginning of a word and followed by a full vowel, has disappeared, as alleged in this case. An instance cited is that of the local name of Constantinople, that is, "Stamboul." Because of its metropolitan character people spoke of going εἰς τὴν πόλιν (eis ten polin) into the city. Later this contracted to "eistenpolin," was then beheaded to "'stenpolin," and gradually curtailed to "Stamboul." But mark. The sound dropped at the beginning is a vowel, not a consonant, and it is, moreover, in the Greek tongue, not in the Hebrew. Going northeast, however, the Palestine captives, if they announced themselves as of Isaac (of which there is no evidence), came among a people of cognate speech, who had a corresponding letter for each of the consonants in "Yis-hhaq," and neither of these would or could wholly disappear. Least of all would it be the first letter, for "Yodh" at the beginning of a word, followed by a vowel of any strength, is a most persistent letter. Even when followed by a weak vowel sound it retains its place remarkably. Such is the case, for instance, with the name of the southern kingdom. In "Yᵉ hudhah" it went into the Greek as Ἰουδά, into the Latin as "Judas," and it now represents the only consonant sound in the word "Jew." That in their northward migration Israel called itself, or was called, "Yits-hhaq;" or that by a kindred people having corresponding sounds the persistent first letter was cut off, an able-bodied middle consonant cut out, and an appendix added, making the word "Yits-

Khaq" appear to-day as "Saxon," is a fond conceit, if not deceit, unsupported by possibility, probability, or evidence.

Consider the romancers' reliability in historical matters. "The Kimmerians—a people whose name is mentioned by Homer (*Odyssey*, book v, 14), nine hundred years before Christ—were the first of those three distinct races which successfully crossed the Bosphorus and spread themselves over northern Europe." Here is the usual monumental contempt for verification and accuracy. At that place Homer makes no such mention. Elsewhere, however, he sang:

> There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
> The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells.

According to these authors they were well known to Homeric thought "nine hundred years before Christ." With the entire school this name and nation are derived from Omri, king of Israel. Dr. Margoliouth, "on all questions of Hebrew words and roots a tower of strength," is quoted as declaring that "Kymry (which by the Greek became 'Kimmerioi,' amongst the Teutons 'Kimbri,' and Latinized into 'Cambria') are of purely Hebrew origin." He quotes a cuneiform inscription of Shalmaneser II (858–823), as to his receiving "the tribute of Yahua ab-il Khumry (that is, 'Jehu, the son of Omri')." Further is quoted another by Tiglath-pileser recording his conquest of Samaria, "and of the deportation of the ten tribes by him" (*sic*). But even the kindergarten Sunday school children know that "nine hundred years before Christ" Omri had not ascended the throne of Israel, as he was but a private until 930 B. C. The very hornbook of Assyriology has it also that Tiglath-pileser had long been in his grave when Sargon, successor of his successor, in 722 B. C. is said to have deported the ten tribes. This illustrates the ignorance or misrepresentation of history well known. It hardly breeds faith in statements touching history less known. If this is done in the green tree what shall be done in the dry?

Observe the one-eyed aspect of current history. In alleging the fact that "A. E. I. O. U. Y." means "*Angliæ est imperare orbi universo Yisrælæ*"—"It is for Anglo-Israelites to dominate the universe"—the exterminating growth of that race is thus set forth:

Prolific beyond all former precedent, this race is doubling at a ratio that has already grievously alarmed all the other and enlightened denizens upon our narrow sphere. In the decade from 1870 to 1880 the world increased about 9¾ per cent in population. In the meantime Great Britain increased 10¼; the United States, 31; Australia, 56¼; Canada, 14¼; and South Africa (Anglo-Saxon), 73¾ per cent. No other nation, save Belgium, has increased over 11 per cent, and France but 1.67 per cent.

To this might be added, by way of climax, that Cripple Creek mining camp six years ago had but a family or two, but now has a population of, say, 10,000! If not in print it would be incredible that one should so mistake increase by migration for increase by births. That table is well matched by the well-known lament over the threatened extinction of American Anglo-Saxon families, as well as by the table * of the present annual birth rate per 1,000 of population in the various nations: Russia, 49; Hungary, 45; Saxony, 42; Italy, 38; Austria, 38; Prussia, 37. Look on that picture, and then on this: Australia, 35; England and Scotland, 33; Ireland, 24. False are either these figures or these new prophets.

Space and time are lacking to give farther results of attempts at verification. Suffice it to say that in every line investigated either the facts are found to be not as stated or else the conclusion alleged does not follow. From beginning to end the logic is the fallacy, if not the sophism, of the undistributed middle, thus: Major, the Israelites are a remarkable people; Minor, the Saxons are a remarkable people; *ergo*, the Saxons are Israelites! Or, this: The Hebrew for hare is "Ran-bit" (false! It is "Ar-ne-bheth"); the English for hare is "Rab-bit;" therefore, the Angle is Israel. Such thinking is chiefly done with the ears.

But every heresy has this of profit, that truth of a wholly unexpected kind results from its examination. From a careful investigation of the allegations to the contrary the writer has become convinced that a large portion of the ten tribes was never deported at all. Also that, of those deported, as fair and reasonable a proportion as of the two tribes returned with them. The universal deportation of all the individuals of the ten tribes and their exclusion from the return under Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and others are pure myths. No evidence for

* *Public Opinion*, Dec. 31, 1896.

Christianity can be builded thereon. The ancient treatment of conquered nations was of two kinds. Often were they bodily removed and sold as slaves. But far different was expatriation, or forced colonization. In this the victors desired only the best of the vanquished people, in the hope of assimilating a factor capable of greatly strengthening their own nation. This seems to have been the plan of the Eastern conquerors of Palestine, builders as they were of great cities which they must rapidly populate with citizens of a superior quality. The pictures of life among the exiles as given by Tobit, the eminence of Daniel and others of his time, the reluctance of so many even among the Levites to exchange Babylon for Jerusalem, all show that the exiles were in no sense slaves. Nebuchadnezzar skimmed Judah several times. First he deported the sons of the aristocracy to be reared for official position, as Daniel and his friends. The second time, although, generally speaking (2 Kings xxiv, 10–16), "he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valor, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths," it is immediately added, "None remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land." That this remnant was no insignificant thing is seen from the fact that Nebuchadnezzar set up one of the royal seed over the land, and that by him Egypt was induced to assume a protectorate over it, and that for this rebellion it took Nebuchadnezzar no less than two years to capture Jerusalem finally. At this latter time, the third skimming, when he "burnt the house of the Lord, and the king's house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man's house," and carried away the rest of the people that were in the city and all the fugitives that fell away to the king of Babylon, "with the remnant of the multitude," he yet "left of the poor of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen." True, in Jer. lii, 27, it is written, "Thus Judah was carried away captive out of his own land," but in the next verses he sums them thus:

> This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | In the seventh year | 3,023 | Jews. |
> | In the eighteenth year | 832 | " |
> | In the twenty-third year | 745 | " |
> | All the persons were | 4,600 | " |

Evidently the deportation of Judah, which with one drop of ink can be described as universal, and with the next as very partial, was but a mere formality and affected only the ruling class. That it extended to the country at large is not in evidence. Average the distances from Jerusalem to all points as yet identified in Judah and Benjamin, and then average the distances from the same to the places to which the returning families went to occupy their ancestral estates, and it will appear that the outer half of the country was not touched.

The same was true of the northern kingdom of Israel. The ten tribes were never utterly deported. No one has ever showed that just ten tribes formally identified themselves with Jeroboam. No catalogue is given. True, it is said (1 Kings xii. 20) that "there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only." Yet with the very next sentence begins modification, for therein Rehoboam assembles all the house of Judah with the tribe of Benjamin "to fight against the house of Israel." Later the Levites joined him. The adjoining portion of Dan seems long before to have become assimilated with Judah. Simeon, among the largest of the tribes to leave Egypt, but the smallest to enter Canaan, even escaping notice in Moses's blessing, was at first overlooked in the distribution of the land, but was finally assigned a district southward within the limits of Judah, his powerful brother. That the mass of Simeon ever held political allegiance anywhere but in Jerusalem and to the house of David is not proved. Asher, also, even as early as David's time seems to have lost its tribal life and identification with the other tribes, having become absorbed in Phœnicia. The many intermarriages mentioned instead of being exceptions are rather samples of the intermixture going on. With some half dozen foreign women in the ancestry of Jesus, the much-vaunted purity of the Abrahamic strain is another greatly overworked myth. Such a thing then as a formal confederation of ten tribes, no more and no less, rests upon assertion of interpreters merely. As many as were opposed to the supremacy of Judah clave unto Ephraim and Jeroboam. The rest paid their vows at Jerusalem.

Multitudes of the individuals throughout the so-called ten

selves remained "union men," as did many in this country forty-five years ago, and early became identified with Judah in various ways. This was the case with all the Levites. Stirred by their example, out of all the tribes of Israel such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel came to Jerusalem to sacrifice,* and so they strengthened the kingdom of Judah. Later to pious Azariah spake a prophet: "Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law. But when they in their trouble did turn unto the LORD God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them." Then Asa "took courage, and put away the abominable idols out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken from Mount Ephraim, and renewed the altar of the LORD, that was before the porch of the LORD. And he gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and the strangers with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for they fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they saw that the LORD his God was with him." In order to prevent farther migration of his subjects into Judah, Baasha undertook to build a fort on the Jerusalem road, but Asa captured the material and erected it to another place for his own benefit. In Ahab's alliance with Sidon and his substitution of genuine Baal worship for the previous worship of Jehovah under the form of the calf, many more felt outraged and impelled toward Judah. Obadiah knew of one hundred prophets of the Lord, and seven thousand in Israel were made known to Elijah, who had not bowed the knee to Baal. During this reign of terror under Ahab, Jehoshaphat of Judah "went out again through the people from Beer-sheba to Mount Ephraim, and brought them back unto the LORD God of their fathers."

Only three or four years before Samaria's fall Hezekiah's great reformation shows how the hearts and allegiance of the people were more and more turning to Judah. He "sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh," to come and keep the passover. "They established a decree to make proclamation throughout all Israel, from

* The *Variorum* Bible conjectures that a phrase from one column through a copyist's error got written into the next column. The unintelligible phrase in the middle of 2 Chron. xv, 9 should follow at xi, 16, and read, "and to get themselves inserted in the genealogies."

Beer-sheba to Dan." Read the account in 2 Chron. xxx. Its effect was like that following Paul's first day's preaching at Rome: "So the posts passed from city to city, through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them. Nevertheless, divers of Asher and Manasseh and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem." Many also of Ephraim and Issachar were present. Disproved, then, is the notion that the tribes remained absolutely distinct as to religion, loyalty, or residence. After Hezekiah's revival the "king of Assyria" overthrew Samaria, and "carried Israel away into Assyria," and "so was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day" (1898?). To some, strangely, this seems a universal deportation. But the king of Assyria gives relatively small figures, and, farther, large numbers of the ten tribes are home after 722 B. C. Ninety years after their alleged utter deportation Josiah instituted a reformation in Judea. In his iconoclasm he "cleansed Judah and Jerusalem. And so did he in the cities of Manasseh, and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali." For the immediate repair of the temple "they delivered the money that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites that kept the doors had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin."

The conclusion is irresistible that these deportations extended only to the upper classes. And this the monuments show:

2 Kings xv, 29, 30.

In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria.

And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.

Monument Annals of Tiglath-pileser.

The towns of Gil(ead) and Abel-(beth-Maachah) in the province of Beth-Omri, the widespread (district of Naphta)li to its whole extent I turned into the territory of Assyria. My (governors) and officers I appointed (over them). . . .

The land of Beth-Omri . . . a selection of its inhabitants (with their goods) I transported to Assyria. Pekah their king I put to death, and I appointed Hosea to the sovereignty over them. Ten (talents of gold, . . . of silver as) their tribute I received, and I transported them (to Assyria).

That which one styles a carrying away captive to Assyria the other styles a turning of the land into the territory of Assyria and an appointing of officers. Those carried away, as we have already seen, are distinctly called a selection of its inhabitants. Manifestly, none of the Assyrian or Babylonian deportations were universal.

When the visible empire of the north had shrunk to the city of Samaria and its suburbs and was captured by Sargon he took thence a number of colonists relatively small compared with the millions understood to have inhabited the land. Here is Sargon's record of the event: "(In the beginning of my reign) the city of Samaria I besieged, I captured; 27,280 of its inhabitants I carried away; fifty chariots in the midst of them I collected, and the rest of their goods I seized; I set my governor over them and laid upon them the tribute of their former king (Hosea)." Sayce (in his *Assyria*) corroborates this view as to the partiality of the deportation by saying that "Samaria was taken and placed under an Assyrian governor. 27,280 of its leading inhabitants being carried captive to Assyrian and Media." *

After the return members of the ten tribes appear in Palestine, and are mentioned as belonging to them, or as being able to show their genealogy, or are referred to as Israelites. Anna, the prophetess, was of Asher, exceptionally named because she had preserved her lineage, as others had not. The Book of Judith, or the Jewess, represents affairs in Palestine after the return, and makes the rulers at Bethulia (overlooking Esdraelon) Ozias of the tribe of Simeon, Chabri of Ephraim, and Carmi of Asher. Both Judith and her husband are of the tribe of Simeon, and the neighbors are Israel. Cyrus's edict was unlimited, and was published in all his kingdom. The bulk of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, absent from Zion but two generations, were loath to return. How much more those whose remote ancestors for centuries had hated Jerusalem and the Davidic rule, and whose immediate ancestors for seven generations had become wonted to the fat of Mesopotamia. Jews would be zealous enough to expatriate themselves again. Ezra gives the returning exiles as 42,360, besides their servants

* Page 58.

and maids. Nehemiah and 1 Esdras give the same sum. But their arithmetic cannot be made to tally with that in vogue to-day. Bertheau sums them in Ezra, 29,818; in Nehemiah, 31,089; and in 1 Esdras, 30,143, according to the best text. This leaves some 12,000 unaccounted for, unless they are the Assyrian exiles who had not preserved their genealogies. The most intelligent and historically minded rabbis teach that this balance were of the Assyrian captivity, who thus in goodly proportion participated in the return, having been joined to their brethren in the land of their common captivity, as the prophets foretold.

Having weighed and found woefully wanting the claims advanced in the interests of the "Anglo-Israel" romance, heartily will one indorse the words of Wright in his Bampton *Lectures on Zechariah* (1878):

> The recent attempt to trace the Anglo-Saxon race to an Israelitish origin, which has been made by some English enthusiasts, filled with national pride on the one hand and with an ignorant contempt for any other form of evangelical Christianity than that which they have seen and learned to value in their own land, arises only from spiritual pride, and must be treated with contempt. The theory of the identity of the Anglo-Saxon race with the ten, or any one of the tribes of Israel, is one which could only be propounded by men ignorant of history and philology and of the lessons to be learned from a careful study of such departments. Such theories are injurious, because they are often readily embraced by a portion of the unlearned mass of the public, and they frequently cause others to entertain an undeserved contempt for that evangelical teaching which is often dear to the adherents of such fanciful opinions. They tend also to divert many from a sober and painstaking study of the word of God.

Wilbur Fletcher Steele.

ART. V.—THE REAL BORGIA.

ONE thing which to a good many of us appears open to interpretation as a sign of incipient, however slow, decay in the Roman Catholic system is the failure of that masculine courage which once animated it in passing judgment on its own great representatives. How calmly Rome took the tremendous invectives of Dante against popes and cardinals, especially against Boniface VIII! While the Spanish Inquisition struck twenty lines out of the *Divina Commedia*, on the ground of excessive severity toward the holy see, Rome herself would not suffer a line to be expunged. This courage survived the Reformation. Baronius is not afraid to expose unreservedly the abominations of the Reign of the Harlots. And when Rome was still the moral center of Europe good men might wonder at the actual wickedness of the *curia* without a thought of parting from it. They reverenced its many saints without being discouraged by its many sinners. Even Savonarola's denunciations against Alexander VI were borne by the latter very composedly. Had the two men not come to stand on opposite sides politically the friar, instead of perishing, might perhaps have been canonized, like St. Brigitta of Sweden, whose language to the popes had also been tremendously severe.

Now, however, a spirit of weak and whimpering apology seems to have possessed itself of many Roman Catholic writers. They own, of course, that eminent goodness is not often found in a pope, more than in other Christians. Of the last hundred and seventy popes the Church has consented to canonize only ten. On the other hand, Catholics were once not afraid to own that a good many popes had been bad men. It seems a sign of failing confidence in the continuing necessity of the papacy when men begin to say, "If asked whether there have been bad popes, I must own that there have been three or four who do not seem to me to have come up to the moral level of their functions." This is a very puling tone, compared with the manly frankness that once did not stand on the question whether it was half a dozen or half a score popes, more or less, that were given over to Beelzebub.

This effeminate sickliness of apology reaches its climax in the way in which some late Roman Catholic writers try to cover up the wickedness of the Borgia pope. Borgia was an honorable name of Spanish nobility, borne by a pope before Alexander—his uncle, Calixtus III—and by a canonized saint after him, his own great-grandson. Yet Roderick Borgia's wickedness, with that of his son Cæsar, has made Borgia a name of perpetual infamy. But we are told now by some peevish writers that we are mistaken in our man altogether. Not only was Roderick Borgia not the monster of legend—which may very well be—but he was not a bad man at all. His election, we are assured, was not procured by simony. It was the tribute to his ability and godliness which the cardinals thought would soon restore the somewhat shaken credit of the holy see. As to his children, they were not his children, but those of a cousin, invented for the purpose, or again they were his children, but by a lawful marriage, contracted before he took orders. As a voluntary separation, granted by a wife that her husband may become a priest, does not dissolve the bond of marriage, and as Vanozza de Catanceis was three times married during Alexander's lifetime, we are left in the dark on what grounds this godly husband connived at three adulterous connections of his own wife. If this were the style into which general Roman Catholicism was degenerating, we might well give it over. However, its writers are not all such weaklings. The great Church Lexicon of Wetzer and Welte comments on the popes with sufficient frankness, and often with no small severity. Especially does the present eminent pontiff seem determined to throw the Vatican archives, for better for worse, open to the world. As he sarcastically says, he has not discovered it to be a part of Christianity to hide the treason of Judas or Peter's denial. Among the other things he has made accessible the Borgia records, in one hundred and thirteen large quarto volumes. These, together with the secret archives of Milan, and some other hitherto inaccessible or neglected documents, enable us to form an essentially conclusive judgment of Alexander VI and his children. Happily these opportunities have been fully employed by an intensely Roman Catholic professor, of an

intensely Roman Catholic university, Dr. Lewis Pastor, of the University of Innsbruck.* He is a man whom no one can suspect of a disposition to defame a pope. We might as well impute such a temper to Leo XIII himself, under whose patronage he has wrought. Pastor says: "In all points the last word could not be spoken; as indeed there remains an ample field for the investigation of details; but the main point may be taken as fixed—every attempt to save the character of Alexander VI may be set down henceforth as hopeless."

We have but to put together the main heads of Pastor's statement. Rodrigo Lanzol—Italianized into Lenzuoli—was born in 1431, near Valencia, in Spain. At twenty-five he was made cardinal and vice chancellor of the holy see by his mother's brother, Calixtus III, who allowed him to assume his own name of Borja—Italianized into Borgia. The youth, not even ordained priest, was at one bound as vice chancellor raised into an office regarded as coming next to the popedom, and besides this, with scandalous profusion his uncle heaped benefices upon him, so that he was soon known as the richest cardinal in Rome. After being cardinal twelve years, in 1468 he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano, and seems then first to have been ordained priest. He received also the great and wealthy bishopric of his native Valencia. Roderick Borgia was highly endowed, prudent, and vigilant, extraordinarily skilled in administration, and of winning eloquence. He was wonderfully, heroically beautiful, of a bright and beaming aspect, and, as his contemporary, Caspar of Verona, says, he drew beautiful women to himself more irresistibly than the magnet the iron. He was indifferent about his table, and when he was pope his luxurious friends hated to be invited to dine with him. From the beginning to the end of his life, however, voluptuousness held him enthralled. Pope Pius II by the experience of his own earlier life was sufficiently indulgent, as the age itself was; yet the young cardinal went so far beyond the bounds of accepted decorum that the pope was moved to the unusual step of addressing him a written admonition, when he was now verging on forty. In it Pius gently reproaches him for his amorous flatteries of girls, send-

* Since called to Freiburg.

ing wine and fruits to his paramours, "and the whole day through meditating on nothing but every form of sensuous delight." The pope allows that the reports may have been somewhat exaggerated, although sufficiently discreditable at best, and hopes that the cardinal will amend his life. This, however, Borgia had not a thought of doing. A dispatch of the Mantuan envoy, of 1464, speaks of a serious malady which the physican had little hope of curing: "*Maxime quia paulo ante non solus in lecto dormiverat.*" Indeed, as Pastor remarks, the diary of John Burchard, papal master of ceremonies, lately published from the archives of the Duke of Osuna at Madrid, has rendered all further endeavors to vindicate the moral character of Alexander VI forever futile. The same judgment is emphatically confirmed by the profound historical student Cardinal Hergenröther, a German, but a devoted ultramontane. Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro also, the present eminent Archbishop of Capua, speaks with merited contempt of the efforts to explain away the stains of Borgia's private life. Leonetti's denial of the genuineness of Pius II's admonitory brief is annihilated by the fact that it is found to stand in all form in the papal secret archives.

The pagan *renaissance* had thoroughly corrupted morals and the moral sense of vast numbers of the cultivated classes. Sixtus IV, although Pastor declares him to have been personally irreprehensible in life, was singularly reckless in filling up the sacred college with men of dubious repute. Indeed, Rodrigo Borgia was at least free from the unnatural vices which were widely prevalent in Italy, but which the Spaniards particularly abhor. On the death of Sixtus, therefore, few seem to have been scandalized that Cardinal Borgia canvassed actively for the succession. This time, however, Innocent VIII came in. "Borgia," writes the Florentine envoy, "is accounted so proud and faithless that we have no need to fear his being chosen." Of his perfidy he gave a signal proof now. Having always stood with the mighty Roman house of the Colonna in their hereditary enmities against the Orsini, he at this time went over to the latter, in the hope of being helped by them to the tiara. This perfidy failed, and we cannot discover that it contributed much to his final success in 1492.

Professor Pastor, who always does the best he can for a pope, while acknowledging that Innocent when young was as careless in life as other young nobles, and was the father of two unlawful children, says that after he took orders all complaints of this kind against him cease. As pope, however, he was weakness itself. The main influence over him was exercised, for a while at least, by Cardinal Julian della Rovere, afterward Julius II, a man even more vicious in life than the Spanish cardinal himself. As he and Borgia were mutually hostile, Roderick was mostly reduced for the present to show his magnificence in private life. The sumptuousness of his palace—with its wealth of tapestries, carpets, state beds, rarely wrought gold and silver plate, and gold brocade—goes beyond all that the most liberal judgment could allow as befitting a Christian prelate. Yet it was much the lightest part of his offense. He did not even maintain the pretense of continence. Besides his vagrant amours, which seem gradually to have fallen off, he maintained from about 1469 an unpermitted relation with the Roman lady, Vanozza dei Catanei. She bore him four children, Cæsar, John, Geoffrey, and Lucretia. They are named in this order in her epitaph, of which a copy exists. Cæsar, however, though named first, was her second son. Borgia provided a veil, sufficiently transparent, for his intimacy with Vanozza, by contracting for her three nominal marriages, in 1474 with Dominic d'Arignano; in 1480 with George de Croce, of Milan; and in 1486 with Charles Canale, of Mantua. Of these marriages naturally there appear no children. There was no pretense that her actual children were not Roderick Borgia's. Sixtus IV, in a dispensation from illegitimacy of October 1, 1480, enabling Cæsar Borgia, then five years old, to take minor orders so as to hold benefices, describes him as "born of a cardinal-bishop and a married woman," *De episcopo cardinali genitus et conjugata*. All Roderick's children were in due time legitimated and bore their father's name. No shame appears to have been felt in the avowal by either him or them. Vanozza dei Catanei on her part was a person of wealth, apparently belonging to the lesser nobility; she occupied a house neighboring to the palace of her paramour. This palace was

esteemed the most beautiful in Rome, and one of the finest of all Italy. Vanozza survived Alexander fifteen years, and died at Rome in 1518, being seventy-six years of age. In her last years she endeavored to atone by devoutness and beneficence for her early irregularities.

The supremely ridiculous endeavor of some of Alexander's apologists is the effort to diminish at least the number of scandals by identifying the aged Vanozza with the youthful Julia Farnese, Alexander's last mistress. The two women and the two families seem to have had nothing to do with each other. Julia must have been toward a quarter of a century younger than Vanozza. Her brother Alexander was twenty-six years Vanozza's junior. Her relation to Alexander VI was in its prime during his pontificate, when Vanozza's charms were now waning with age. We have not ascertained when Julia Farnese died, but her brother, the cardinal, became Pope Paul III in 1534, sixteen years after the death of Vanozza dei Catanei. The attempt to identify the two women, therefore, for the mere sake of reducing by one the number of Alexander VI's paramours, is silly beyond measure. It would be news indeed that Paul III was uncle to Cæsar Borgia. Such attempts are continually making by busy nobodys, swarming like vermin around the memory of every pope of evil repute, in the hope of nibbling away here a scandal and there a scandal. Their attempts, however, are seldom so utterly fatuous as this. Cardinal Borgia had also two elder children, Peter Lewis and Hieronyma, born about 1460, and therefore some fifteen years older than Vanozza's eldest. These were, in fact, born some eight years before their father was ordained priest, but were not born in wedlock. Indeed, Borgia, though not yet a priest, had been some time a cardinal, and was either a deacon or in some of the lower orders holding a cardinal-diaconate by dispensation. In 1481 Sixtus IV, in a patent of legitimation, describes Peter Lewis as "the son, when born, of a cardinal-deacon and of a single woman." *De tunc cardinali diacono et soluta.* There was no thought of disowning, or even disguising, the paternity of either set of children. Peter Lewis, who died unmarried and comparatively young, left his half-brother John his heir.

In the conclave of 1492, following the death of Innocent VIII., Roderick Borgia was at last chosen pope, and took the name of "Alexander VI." The election was brought about by unblushing and gigantic bribery. The envoys of the Italian states, especially of Florence, Mantua, Milan, and Venice, were apprised of every turn of affairs in the conclave, and forthwith reported it to their governments. All attempts to deny Borgia's simony are therefore hopeless. It was known what promises he had made to each cardinal, and these promises were strictly fulfilled. He was a good paymaster. In the conclave of 1492 there were twenty-three cardinals. Previous popes had been constrained to keep down the number, so as to enhance the importance of each individual member of the college. Fifteen votes, therefore, were requisite for a choice. Della Rovere, Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini, Zeno, Medici, Basso, Cibò—three of them afterward popes—were easy to be won. The aged Cardinal Gherardo, ninety-five years old and hardly responsible, at length cast the fifteenth vote. The tiara being now secured, the new pope was prompt to pay. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, on whom everything had depended, received the vice-chancellorship, Borgia's own palace, the walled village Nepi, the bishopric of Erlau, and other benefices. Orsini had the walled towns, Monticelli and Soriano, the legation of the March, and the Spanish bishopric of Cartagena. Colonna received the abbey of Subiaco, with the surrounding castles. Savelli had Cività Castellana and the bishopric of Majorca. Pallavicini had the bishopric of Pampeluna; John Michiel, the cardinal-bishopric of Porto. Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario, and Domenico della Rovere received wealthy abbeys and benefices. The simony was so immense that it was almost sublime. "'In this way,' says the Church annalist, 'according to the secret counsel of the divine Providence, a man arrived at the supreme dignity whom the ancient Church, on account of his dissolute life, would not have admitted to the lowest grade of the clergy.' The days of ignominy and scandal for the Roman Church began; what Savonarola had forebodingly prophesied was fulfilled: the sword of the wrath of God had come down upon the earth; the punishment began."

Yet, as the author remarks, it was with no such feelings that Borgia's elevation to the popedom was generally regarded. For a good while back, as for nearly two generations to come, the papacy was almost divested of a spiritual character. In Europe at large it was simply an engine of government for a vast external institute. In Italy it was completely absorbed in the political consolidation of its authority in the middle of the peninsula. Borgia seemed well fitted, and his son Cæsar proved to be thoroughly fitted, for crushing the rebellious barons of the papal state. Therefore Alexander VI was hailed as the right man for the time. There were, even then, very many pure and pious men and women throughout Italy, but the place where they were least accounted of, except in the way of barren homage, was the apostolic see.

Borgia, dissolute as he was, had always been the very soul of business diligence. For thirty-seven years he had scarcely ever failed a consistory. He knew every branch of administration and every particular of ceremonial. He was fascinating in speech, gracious in demeanor, majestic of form. Not being much of a scholar or thinker, he seems to have been infected by none of the pagan speculations of the *renaissance*. He was not unbelieving or heretical, he was simply exceedingly wicked. As with Nero, so with Alexander; his evil was principally confined to Rome, secondarily to Italy. His general government of the Church, though of course absolutely unspiritual, was regular, and seems to have been fairly equitable, so far as we can talk of equity under the fearful oppressiveness and rapaciousness of the Roman see of that time. Of course he took small pains to provide good bishops, but does not seem to have stood in the way of their being promoted—of course after the cravings of his own nepotism and simony were fully met. There have been better men than Alexander who were worse popes beyond the Alps.

Alexander VI's famous bull, dividing America between Castile and Portugal, seems as if it claimed a boundless temporal dominion over the heathen Indians. However, this was not its meaning. When his attention was called to this misinterpretation he published a supplementary bull, explaining that he only meant to exclude other Christians from the new-found

territories, not to give the two monarchs any authority over the Indians. This, as the Spanish Dominicans pointed out, was beyond his power, as they were not within the jurisdiction of the Church, and had, moreover, antecedent rights of which he could not divest them. Finally, after Ferdinand and his captains had shamefully abused the bull, Paul III, the brother of Alexander's mistress Julia, in 1537 issued a bull denouncing excommunication against any who should interpret the papal edicts in a sense prejudicial to Indian sovereignty.

The new pope's immorality, which had abated with age, gave the less scandal because it had become usual to view the greater prelates merely as princes. Many of them hardly ever said mass, or confirmed, or ordained. These functions they left to auxiliar bishops, and of these many were eminent for piety. Borgia as pope of course now appeared in the great functions of the Roman Church, but in these his majestic presence passed for much more important than any questions as to his spiritual fitness. He took good care for order in Rome, and for ample supplies, and therefore the Romans felicitated themselves on their new pope. Alexander seems for a moment to have had serious thoughts of his duty to bridle his unmeasured fondness for his kindred. He recognized the scandal of enriching and ennobling them at the expense of the Church and the poor. But all such thoughts were with him but a flitting emotion. Not only did he find the claims of his children irresistible, but of his brothers' and sisters' children, and of the remoter kindred. The Borgias, the Lenzuolis, and whatever else the swarming branches of this race of Aragonese hidalgos may have been called, now flooded Rome. "Ten popedoms," says a contemporary, "would not satisfy the greediness of this man." Alexander, therefore, after a moment's hesitating compunction, threw all scruples aside, and for the eleven years of his pontificate held everything else subordinate to the one thought of building up a mighty house of Borgia, that should take a permanent place among the potentates of Italy and Europe. Had he lived a few years longer it is possible that a race might have become kings of middle Italy, reducing the immediate dominion of the Church to the patrimony of St. Peter. Alexander at once made over the archbishopric

of Valencia and its sixteen thousand ducats of income to his son Cæsar, who as much excelled his father in wickedness as his father excelled common men. His nephew Juan, Archbishop of Monreale, he made cardinal.

Alexander's ambition centered chiefly on Cæsar, his affection chiefly on Lucretia. The imputations, however, of incestuous passion seem wholly unfounded, whether involving the father or the brothers. The men of the race were recklessly voluptuous, but not monstrously or unnaturally so. Spaniards seem, more than many, inclined to observe a certain line of pudicity even in the midst of impudicity. Professor Pastor remarks:

> Annalists, epigrammatists, modern historians have vied with romance writers and authors of sensational dramas in portraying Lucretia Borgia as the most abandoned of her sex, as the heroine of the dagger and the poison cup. The time was bad, the court was bad, the examples given in her own family were bad; but Lucretia Borja, however she may have been affected by the almost universal corruption, was far from deserving so evil a repute. The vilest accusations and relations rest upon accounts whose exaggerations and filthy malice exceed the bounds of credibility, indeed of possibility, upon the satires of a city whose wit has been from of old the most sharp and biting. A multitude of facts brand these stories as lies. Moreover, all that is known of the outer appearance of Lucretia disagrees with the traditional conception of her character. All contemporaries are at one in portraying her as possessed of an indescribable grace, cheerfulness, and amiability. "She is of medium stature and of graceful form," writes Niccolo Cagnolo, of Parma, "the face longish, the nose of a beautiful profile, the hair bright golden, the eyes of undetermined color; the mouth is somewhat large, the teeth dazzlingly white, her neck slender and white, sizable and yet thoroughly well proportioned. Her whole demeanor breathes an ever-laughing cheerfulness." Her long waves of golden hair seem to have been found especially fascinating.

Although she was hardly a beauty in the strict sense, the medallions of Lucretia—for there is no certainly authentic portrait of her—offer an expression of yielding, passive indecision, which seems to have been her real character. She was certainly not untouched by the corruption of her father's court. It seems morally certain that in early youth she was a mother without being a wife. The chief chamberlain of her father was thrown into prison, and is never heard of again. The letter of Christopher Poggio to the Marquis of Mantua says of him,

Intendo essere in presone per haver ingravidato la figliola de N. S^ta M^a Lucretia." Lucretia's letters, it is remarked, are utterly colorless, correct but without wit or originality, contrasting strangely with the freshness and brilliancy of her chief correspondent, the Marchioness Isabella Gonzaga. She seems to have offered no resistance to any plans that were formed for her by her father and brothers. She made herself easily at home in any new circumstances. She allowed herself to be betrothed and unbetrothed, married and unmarried, as her family pleased. At eleven years old she was betrothed to the Spanish nobleman John de Centelles, then disengaged and affianced to Don Gaspar, Count Aversa. Then the mighty cardinal, Ascanio Sforza, offered the hand of his brother John, Lord of Pesaro, and Alexander was enraptured at the chance of marrying his daughter into the great Milanese dynasty. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at the Vatican in 1493, and the young couple seem to have lived peaceably together for four years. They had no children. Then they fell out, and the pope, whose schemes of policy underwent many mutations, as being founded only on the shifting sand of mere expediency, took advantage of the quarrel to separate them. As the marriage, if really such, could not be dissolved, the pope partly frightened and partly bribed John Sforza into allowing that it had been merely nominal. Thereupon it was declared null. Sforza revenged himself by spreading odious imputations as to the pope's motives. Before speaking of these, however, let us say something about the pope's sons.

His eldest son, Peter Lewis, whose mother we do not know, was betrothed to a princess of Aragon, but died before marriage, about the age of thirty-three, before his father became pope. He had been made Duke of Gandia, in Spain, had distinguished himself there in war, and seems to have been the best of Roderick Borgia's sons. He left his dukedom and his betrothed to his much younger half-brother, John. On the healthier native soil of Spain this branch detached itself from the Italian infamy of the house, and continued for generations in high and deserved honor. Roderick's great-grandson, Francis Borgia, fourth Duke of Gandia, becoming a widower, took orders, and finding his stay in Spain hardly safe on account of his

known dislike to the Inquisition, he went to Rome, where, joining the Jesuits, he became third general of the order, and since his death, on the ground of his wisdom, equity, and eminent benevolence and sanctity, has been deservedly canonized as Saint Francis Borgia. The moral glory of Jesuitism, as a system—for there have been many admirable individual Jesuits—may be regarded as having come to a term with his administration. Geoffrey Borgia, the youngest of Vanozza's three sons, was at first destined, like Cæsar, for the ecclesiastical life. As a boy he received the tonsure, and perhaps minor orders, and was of course well provided with benefices, among them those of prebendary and archdeacon of Valencia. Finally, however, the opportunity offered of marrying him into the Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon and providing him with a principality in this kingdom. His family lasted as an important line of Neapolitan magnates for nearly two centuries. It seems to have shared in the general renovation of the moral life induced by the counter-reformation, and under the Spanish sway to have left behind it, like the Spanish branch, the infamy of its beginning. Its latest noted representative, also named Francis Borgia, was Viceroy of Peru, an eminent patron of literature, and himself a Spanish poet of merit.

Cæsar Borgia, however, by the portentousness of his infamy, has thrown all his brothers into the shade. Even the wickedness of his father pales beside the unflinching resoluteness of evil that was in the son. Yet this evil lay behind an aspect of sunny cheerfulness equal to his sister's, although there penetrated through this an expression of voluptuousness, and of remorseless and crafty ambition. Were he living now he would be one of the great men of the world, on account of his athletic achievements. He is said to have been able to strike through the neck of a bull at a single blow. He seems to have had a true Spanish love of bull fights. He might have been comparatively good looking had not his face been early disfigured by suppurating sores, the nature of which is only too evident. It was in his time that that fearful disease first appeared in distinct knowledge, which was the appointed sequel of the boundless dissoluteness of that age. It swept through the astonished and affrighted nations of

Christendom—originating not improbably in the West Indies—with a fierceness which made it the rival of the plague, and more dreaded than the leprosy. King Francis I is said to have died of it. Ulrich von Hutten certainly did. Pope Julius II was deeply infected. Leo X in lesser measure bore the contagion through life. Many a royal and noble line then received a poison into its blood which brought it, through slow degeneracy, to extinction.

When Cæsar's father came to the papacy he made Cæsar archbishop of Valencia, and soon after cardinal. Cæsar's tastes, however, were all bent on war and political intrigue, and he aspired to found a family of kings. His father, now over threescore years of age, became every day less capable of resisting the son's remorseless will in anything. To throw down the cardinal's hat and the episcopal office on mere personal grounds—although Cæsar was not yet ordained priest—shocked all the sentiments of an age which was not so much shameless as dissolute. This deep scandal was aggravated by the still deeper scandal of the unblushing sentence of nullity pronounced against Lucretia's undoubtedly genuine marriage. Then, at the same time, came the mysterious midnight murder of the pope's eldest son John, Duke of Gandia since the death of his half-brother, Peter Lewis. This triple infamy so horrified Rome and Italy that when John Sforza now accused Alexander of having taken his daughter from him for evil purposes of his own he found general credit for the monstrous accusation. In fact, as Professor Pastor points out, the pope had no sooner detached Lucretia from one husband than he made all haste to provide her with another. This was Alfonso of Bisceglia, a natural son of the King of Naples, a youth of great beauty, to whom Lucretia became devotedly attached. After three years, however, he was set upon and dangerously wounded when coming out of church, probably by the Orsini. Cæsar Borgia seems not to have been involved, yet his brother-in-law thought him guilty and vowed revenge. When partially recovered he from the window saw Cæsar walking in the garden, and seizing a bow shot at him. This inflamed Cæsar's rage beyond measure, and he sent up his attendants, who cut Alfonso to pieces.

Who were the murderers of John Borgia remained a deep mystery, yet Pastor shows these also to have most probably been the Orsini, against whom he had been in command—unsuccessfully—during a recent rebellion of theirs. He separated himself one evening from his companions, signifying that he had in hand an affair of gallantry. As he did not reappear in the morning, nor yet by nightfall, search was made, and on the third day the corpse, with ten grisly wounds upon it, was drawn out of the Tiber. Robbery had not been the aim, for his costly garments and his well-filled purse were untouched. Who had done the deed? Loudly and generally and continuously the Orsini were accused of it. They were known to be at deadly enmity with Alexander and his family. The pope himself in the consistory, while expressly acquitting other suspected parties, was significantly silent as to them, while his subsequent demeanor toward them showed that he believed them the murderers. Yet, as no evidence could be produced, before long Cæsar Borgia himself was universally believed to have been his brother's murderer. He was fully capable of it, as he showed by his murder of his brother-in-law. And, as the incarnation of all wickedness, a kind of devil on earth, every evil deed which could not certainly be fastened on another was ascribed to him. The incest of Alexander and the fratricide of Cæsar have become fixed as facts of history. Yet both appear to be fictions. As to the latter, not a word of suspicion was heard for nine months, and then not a single new proof was brought forward. Nor did the rumor originate at Rome, where the murder took place, but at Venice, where numbers of the Orsini had taken refuge, who were glad to turn the evil report against the pope's own family. Moreover, Cæsar, with his companions, had expressly warned his brother against riding off with one attendant into the dangerous darkness of midnight Rome. Of a rivalry in unlawful, even incestuous, love between the brothers there is no evidence. Nor did Cæsar, though about to throw off the ecclesiastical habit, aspire to his brother's dukedom, which descended at once to his infant nephew. The greater part of its income, it is true, was made over to Cæsar. In short, there seems no warrant for believing Cæsar in any way involved in the murder

of his brother. He was quite wicked enough to have murdered him, but he had no sufficiently intelligible temptation.

The pope was completely broken down by the murder of his son. He loved John with peculiar tenderness. He seems for a little while to have thought on his ways and to have meditated turning to the Lord. In the consistory he heartbrokenly confessed that his sins had deserved so heavy a chastisement, and avowed his purpose of amending his own life and the administration of the Church. Thenceforward benefices were not to be given from nepotism, or to the unworthy. Alexander appointed a commission of cardinals which was to watch vigilantly over the carrying out of these reforms, and which for a time perhaps accomplished a temporary good. But as there was no moral depth in the pope, so there was no moral efficacy in his measures. He was a man sold under sin, and though he sometimes fluttered in the meshes he had no strength to break them, and seems soon to have lost the desire. Besides, he was more and more afraid of the relentless Cæsar, and became before long a mere organ of his will.

Great as was the offense given throughout the Church by the proposal to release a cardinal and bishop from the obligations of his state, reducing him to a lay standing merely for purposes of worldly policy, yet Cæsar could not be persuaded out of his will. His father, therefore, after considerable delay and after coming to the very verge of an open breach, at last gave way. He soon won the unanimous though probably reluctant consent of the consistory, urging that the very salvation of his son, who was not yet a priest, depended on being secularized. For the sake of his family plans Alexander, exasperated, moreover, by the scornful refusal of Alfonso of Naples to marry Cæsar to his daughter, turned now to his former enemy, France, whose new king, Louis XII, indeed had shown himself more friendly than Charles VIII had been. The pope consented to release Louis from his queen, provided the king would marry Cæsar to one of his kinswomen. Rome seldom finds it difficult to dissolve an indissoluble marriage for ends of her own. That is, she dissolves it by declaring that it was never contracted. The grateful king created Cæsar Duke of Valence, so that he still, as when Archbishop of

Valencia, could subscribe himself "Cæsar Valentinus." His progress and his honors, and the sumptuousness of his train, were those of a monarch. His entry into Lyons was of unexampled magnificence. Louis XII soon married his own fascinating cousin, Charlotte d'Albret, to the infected voluptuary, a greater crime than if he had thrown her to the Minotaur. The new-made duke, with the young princess who had been sacrificed to him, hastened back to Italy and began the work of reducing the towns and cities of the ecclesiastical state to his own obedience, using indifferently the weapons of brutality, perfidy, and hideous cruelty. St. Angelo itself received a commander named by him. Everything, from the manning of a fortress to the naming of a cardinal, now went at his word. The pope seems almost to have trembled for his own life in case he should dare to cross his inexorable son. As Cæsar had no male offspring, the pope provided for the continuance of his line by legitimating the infant, Juan Borja, as Cæsar's natural son. Who the real father was is sufficiently clear by two bulls of Alexander, both of September 1, 1501. In one he describes him as the illegitimate son of Cæsar, but provides that if this should be called in question the legitimation should still be in force even should the real father appear to be another person, spiritual or secular, "*Cujuscunque dignitatis et excellentie mundane vel ecclesiastice etiam supreme.*"* The other bull, addressing the child, openly avows the pope himself for the father: "*Cum autem defectum prædictum non de præfato duce, sed de nobis et de dicta muliere patiaris, quod bono respectu in litteris predictis specifice exprimere noluimus,*" etc. Alexander thinks it more decent to pass the young Juan Borja off as a bastard of Cæsar, but in case of necessity provides a bull avowing that the young Juan was his own child. In a document of 1518 Juan is expressly called "brother of Domina Lucretia." Burchard's diary agrees with Alexander's bulls in describing Juan as the son of the pope and "of a certain Roman woman." This, remarks Pastor, disposes finally of all attempts to make out that Alexander gave up his immoralities after becoming pope.

* The last three final e's are the mediæval spelling of the feminine singular of the first declension.

Meanwhile, Alexander set out to console Lucretia for her divorce from one husband and for the murder of another by marrying her to Alfonso, heir of Ferrara, representing one of the most ancient and noble princely families of Italy. Such a brilliant prospect easily comforted the light-minded young widow for the tragic loss of her beautiful young Alfonso of Bisceglia, the father of her son. She gave banquet on banquet to the envoys of Ferrara, at which she literally danced herself sick. Her father, meanwhile, was attending unchaste dances given in Cæsar's apartments by Roman harlots. Lucretia, on reaching the well-ordered court of Ferrara, showed all her constitutional versatility. Her inclinations were doubtless toward good, though she had little strength to resist evil. She was now twenty-three and died in childbed at forty-one. During these eighteen years she was known at Ferrara as the exemplification of virtue, piety, and beneficence to the poor. She seems to have left behind her at Rome, never to be reassumed, all the Borgia memories and all the Borgia wickedness.

It is curious enough, but Alexander allowed the most outrageous attacks upon himself to appear without punishment, remarking that "it was the privilege of the Romans to write and publish what they liked about anybody." The story of Alexander's shamelessness in having his mistress, Julia Farnese, painted on the wall of a room in the Vatican as the Virgin, with himself adoring at her feet, is a blunder. The Virgin appears—perhaps Julia, perhaps not—but the pope appears only in the next room, adoring, not Mary, but the risen Saviour. At that time the pope was heir general to all cardinals, who could not make testaments except by his leave. The story is that whenever Alexander and Cæsar wanted money they would poison a cardinal. Bishop Creighton, however, remarks that people must die sometime, and that the mortality of cardinals under Alexander VI is not remarkably great. At the same time there are a few cases in which the evidence against the pope and his son is so strong that Dr. Pastor only denies the certainty, not the probability, of the crime. The rebellious Cardinal Orsini, it is certain, sickened and died at a singularly opportune time for the pope and Cæsar.

The old story that Alexander had meant to poison Cardinal

Adrian of Corneto at a banquet given by Adrian, but that the cardinal, learning of the plot, had the poisoned sweetmeats placed before the pope and his son, who ate of them—the former to death, the latter finally recovering by the vigor of youth—appears contradicted by the evidence. The sickness was certainly the ordinary pernicious Roman fever, which that summer was very prevalent and very fatal. It lingered, with alternate exacerbations and remissions, like any violent intermittent fever. It simply wore out the pope, who was now seventy-two years old and corpulent. His own nephew, Cardinal Borja, also a corpulent man, had just died, and Alexander, looking down on the funeral train, said, dejectedly, "This is a bad season for us fleshy men." The sickness, moreover, brooded as usual, for ten or twelve days after the garden banquet, which with singular imprudence in a Roman sickly summer was prolonged till nightfall. Cardinal Adrian himself fell sick, though, like Cæsar Borgia, he recovered. In short, all the circumstances and symptoms indicate simply a violent intermittent Roman fever, from which Cæsar and the cardinal recovered, and which proved fatal to the pope. The rapid decay of the remains is easily explained by the violence of the pestilence and the corpulence of the patient.

Cæsar Borgia, by the death of his father at a time when his own life was hanging in the balance, saw himself at once cast down from the height of power to helplessness. His mortal enemy, Julian della Rovere, after the month's reign of Pius III succeeded him as Julius II, and showed himself a relentlessly resolute pontiff and warrior. Cæsar Borgia was thrown into prison, and on being set free went to Naples, where King Alfonso also threw him into prison, and soon transferred him to Spain. Here he made his escape, joined the army of Navarre, was killed in a skirmish at the still early age of thirty-one, and all his ambitious plans went out in smoke, leaving, however, an immortality of infamy to the name of Borgia.

Charles C. Starbuck

Art. VI.—THE ANCIENT BRITISH AND EPHESIAN SUCCESSION THEORIES.

The ecclesiastical historian who should attempt during the present revival of ritualism in the Anglican Church to definitively interpret the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of England or of the Protestant Episcopal Church might enjoy the personal satisfaction of having rescued Truth from the ruins of her temple, but he would not be likely to obtain much respect for his intentions nor embarrassing reward for his labors. *Quid est veritas?* is as much a quandary among Anglican divines as it ever was with Pilate. For, what the true doctrines of the Church of England are, three hundred years have failed to determine. The signification of a doctrinal statement or the scope of a canon depends upon the individual interpreter. Newman, Froude, Mozley, Maurice, Pusey, Stanley, High Church, Low Church, Broad Church, each asserts its teaching to be the teaching of the Church; but what a bishop may decree one day with modified infallibility to be the belief of the Church, or the meaning of canon law, the Court of Arches may reverse the next on appeal by a clergyman of opposing opinion.

What was taught, believed, practiced, and decreed by authority at the beginning, both by crown and miter, is not held in these days of ritualistic supremacy to be in any sense the belief of the Anglican Church, if that original doctrine blurs the distinctive Roman character of present Anglican teaching. In the early days of the Reformation, when the Church of England was established by law, the Church of Rome was denounced by highest ecclesiastical authority as Antichrist,* and in the homily on "The Peril of Idolatry" she is described as an "idolatrous Church," "a foul, filthy, old withered harlot (for she is indeed of ancient years)." Now that same Church is recognized as a true Church of Christ; she is declared to be in full possession of the mystical grace of apostolical succession; her gracious recognition of the validity of Anglican

* Zurich Letters, Parker Soc., Letter xl; Bishop Jewel, Letter xiv, p. 33; Bishop Cox, Letter xxiii, p. 66; Homilies, Sermon for Whitsunday, part ii; Archbishop Sancroft's *Articles exhibited to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury*, 1688, in *Liturgical Tracts*.

orders is as earnestly sought now by the successors of the rebellious reformers as when in 1867 a begging letter was sent for the same purpose to Cardinal Patrizi; and in a recent document, as weak in argument as it is false to history, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York style the Roman pontiff "Brother."

Then the reformers, the first bishops and authorities of the English Church, denounced the mass,* denied the doctrine of the real presence,† prohibited the use of lighted candles on altars,‡ called the altar a table, § stood out against vestments; —or merely tolerated them—incense, positions during the communion, and the whole doctrine of the priesthood. Bishop Jewel, writing to Peter Martyr, says, "The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation, and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at are now seriously entertained by certain persons (for we are not consulted), as if the Christian religion could not exist without something tawdry." Now altars and candles and vestments and priestly forms are almost as common as in Roman churches, and are defended with spirit and triumphant persistence. Then the doctrine that ministers were priests having power to offer sacrifice to God was rejected as an abhorrent superstition of Rome, and though the word "priest" was retained, yet its sacerdotal meaning was denied or explained away.¶ Now the claim is made that Anglican ministers are truly priests in the full, technical, sacrificial sense of the word; and the attempt is made by the highest authority to approach as near as is possible to the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist.** Then apostol-

* *Articuli de Quibus in Synodo Londinensi, A. D. MDLII. Ad tollendam, et inter Episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat*, etc. Article *De Sacramentis*. So also all the articles issued except those under Henry VIII, 1536, and the Thirteen Articles of 1538.

† Articles of Religion, Anno 1562. *De Coena Domini*. See also letter of Jewel to Peter Martyr, March 20, 1559.

‡ Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1559, Injunction 23. Zurich Letters, Letter xxvii.

§ Injunctions, *For Tables in the Church*. Constitution and Canons, vii.

‖ Zurich Letters, Letters xxiii, lxviii, lxiv, lxix, lxxiii, etc. "The first bishops," says Strype (*Annals*, i, 263) such as Cox, Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Jewel, Parkhurst, Bentham, "labored all they could against receiving into the Church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside, but they could not obtain it." The queen had a will of her own.

¶ Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, v, 78; *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ii, p. 26; Stillingfleet, *The Irenicum*, etc., p. 289, Philadelphia, 1842. See Professor Lightfoot's "Excursus" in his *Epistle to the Philippians*.

** *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII.* Longmans' ed., xi, p. 18. The section referred to is out of all harmony with the Prayer Book, its language and teaching, and with the history of the Articles. Cranmer omitted the

ical succession was found in apostolic doctrine, and all the Reformed Churches, such as those of Holland, France, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, or elsewhere, were held to be true Churches. Now apostolical succession is found only in unbroken series of episcopal ordinations from the days of the Apostles to the present time, and all Churches not having this evidence of apostolicity are repudiated as true and complete Churches of Christ, and are never referred to other than as sects or denominations. Such is the change that has come over the once Reformed Church of England, and such are the views that have gained supremacy in the Church of Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, and Ridley. If the present archbishops of England are right, for what did those martyrs suffer and die?

Elsewhere * it has been shown on historical and theological grounds that the claims of the Anglican Church to an historic episcopate, in the sense of High-Churchmen, are without reliable foundation. The highest authority in the Roman Church, having traversed largely the same ground through a special commission, has reached the same conclusion; and the Old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht, who as the head of a movement against Ultramontanism has been disposed to fraternal relations with the Church of England, also asserts the untenableness of Anglican claims.† To the evidence we have presented nothing of importance has been opposed, though some, in attempting the task, have found it more congenial to employ the arguments of Thersites than to wield the weapons of Agamemnon.‡ Unbiased critics, however, have suggested that an important argument in favor of Anglicans has been overlooked

words "may become to us," which the *Answer* employs. Guest, Bishop of Rochester, in a letter to Cecil, 1559, explains also why these words were dropped from the revised liturgy. On the idea of the gifts being "offered," as the archbishops write, see the work by Dr. Rakeney on the *Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 454, 455.

* *The Historic Episcopate*, etc.

† The *Daily Chronicle* says the old Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht has issued a letter with regard to Anglican orders, in which he says: 'The Established Church of England knows nothing of a sacrificing priest in the Catholic sense, as her Thirty-nine Articles and other confessions prove. Consequently, if it is indispensable that the power of offering the sacrifice of the mass be expressed in the rite of ordination, whether by word or sign, then it becomes impossible to recognize Anglican orders. But on this point I wish to suspend my judgment until the whole Church shall have decided the point. But until the Anglicans reject their Thirty-nine Articles there can be no question of reunion between us and them.'"—*The Tablet*, March 26, 1897, London.

‡ *The Bull of Leo XIII on Anglican Ordinations*, etc., by John Fulton, D.D., LL.D., New York, p. 2.

or inadequately treated. We never imagined that any great importance would be attached to the claim that, leaving Rome aside, two other distinct series of episcopal ordinations unite in the Anglican episcopacy, one derived from the bishops of Gaul running back to Ephesus and St. John, the other being obtained from the bishops of the ancient British churches. But, as drowning men catch at a straw, we are not at all surprised, since Rome has so emphatically spoken, that Anglicans should seize with the grip of despair the only hope that history affords. How firm a foundation supports that hope an impartial investigation of historical facts may possibly reveal.

The Anglican position, as stated by the Rev. Mr. Chapin in his *Primitive Church*, p. 220, is thus laid down:

> The archbishops of Canterbury, through whom the succession of English bishops is usually traced, received their succession, not, as is often said, from Rome, but from Arles—Augustine, the first Saxon bishop, as well as the first archbishop of Canterbury, having been consecrated at Arles by Virgillius, the twenty-fourth archbishop of Arles, Ætherius, the thirty-first bishop of Lyons, and probably other bishops of that province.

A table then follows showing the line of succession through these bishops to Irenæus, Pothinus, Polycarp, up to St. John the apostle. Concerning the derivation of the Anglican episcopacy from the ancient churches of Britain the same author writes: "There were canonical and lawful bishops in Britain before Augustine went there, and consequently he owed submission to the metropolitan of Britain," * and the argument extended through many pages is that the episcopal power of the British bishops, absorbed in that of the Roman bishops, descended unbroken through the centuries down to the Reformation, when the Church of England, throwing off the yoke of Roman allegiance, returned to her primitive independence. But from the coming of Theodore, Roman Archbishop of Canterbury (A. D. 669), to the Reformation in the fifteenth century all consecrations were Roman, and in them the British had no part, they being utterly extinct. We may imagine, indeed, as Anglicans do, that some faint trace of ancient British episcopal power was possibly discoverable, and we can also

* Our author fails to perceive that that argument establishes his Anglican episcopacy on usurpation.

imagine that a grain of Epsom salts dropped into the Atlantic would make that ocean an aperient. But while homœopathy as a medical theory may have its defense, in theology and history it is too adynamic to be productive of satisfactory results. That the claims of the Anglicans to episcopal succession through the ancient British Church, like their general claim to an historic episcopate, is without solid foundation will be evident from a survey of all the facts in the case.

When, or by whom, Christianity was first introduced into Britain is immaterial to the particular question before us. Bishop Hurst has recently given many luminous pages * to this and related subjects. Nor is it necessary for us to delineate the history or to dwell at length upon the principal events of the centuries preceding the Saxon invasion. Needful only is it that we should present in clear outline the condition of the country and the state of religion prior to the coming of Augustine, in order that there may be a true apprehension of the exact situation when in that fateful period the Roman and British Churches first met, like opposing tides, in the persons of their representatives. When the Roman legions abandoned Britain, A. D. 410, as a result of the capture of Rome by the Goths, the British in those localities contiguous to the Roman colonies had advanced to a high degree of civilization. But, while they adopted the manners and imitated the arts of their Italian conquerors, they failed to imbibe the spirit of their military character. The flower of their youth had been drafted for years into the legions, and were scattered in various parts of the empire, Maximus having taken some thirty thousand with him in his invasion of Gaul, so that when the Romans finally retired from Britain the inhabitants were exposed to the ferocity of the Scots on the west and of the marauding Picts on the north. The wall which Severus had built to shut out these predatory hosts was as useless as the Spanish general's *trocha* across Cuba. The enemy attacked the British guard on the wall, and, pulling them off with hooks, slew them as they fell. Finally, the Britons in a panic forsook their wall, their

* *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i, pp. 575-589. See also Mosheim, edition of 1847, vol. i, p. 42; Bright's *Early English Church History*, p. 4; the first volume of Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents of Great Britain and Ireland*; Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ*; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*; Gildas, *Works*, translated.

cities and towns, and fled for safety to the woods and swamps pursued by the enemy with frightful slaughter. To the horrors of invasion were added feuds and conflicts among themselves,* and so great became their calamities that they were driven at length to appeal to the Romans for help. "The barbarians," they wrote, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians: between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." But Romen ceded all her forces to resist Attila and his conquering Huns, and the groan of the Britons was without response. In the extremity to which the nation was now reduced Vortigern, the British king, invited the Angles into Britain and gave them land on condition that they should fight the raiding Picts.† In time other tribes came, the Saxons and the Jutes, and these, having driven off the Picts and Scots, turned their swords, as might have been expected, against the Britons and began with vigor a war of extermination. From Northumbria to Kent the Anglo-Saxon hordes swept westward, destroying in their awful carnage every vestige of civilization, burning churches, towns, villages, slaughtering priests and people, until the Britons were driven like sheep to the fastnesses of Cornwall and Wales. Says the historian Bede:

> The priests were slain before the altars, the prelates and the people without any respect of persons were destroyed with fire and sword; nor was there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder being taken in the mountains were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed upon the spot. Some with sorrowful hearts fled beyond the seas.

Gildas, A. D. 564, writing of these same times, says, "All the husbandmen were routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed and the flames crackled around them on every side." Thus was Britain conquered by the sanguinary Saxons, and thus did her land once more become the home of paganism. Christianity, extirpated in England, absolutely destroyed, was preserved only in Cornwall and Wales. "From that time," says Churton, "Christianity

* Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 21, Bohn. † *Saxon Chronicle*, A. D. 490.

began to disappear from the most important and fruitful provinces of Britain. As the Saxons founded, one after another, their petty kingdoms, they destroyed the churches, and the priests fled before them." *

This is the first *stadium*. Looking back we see Britain, with the exception of Cornwall and Wales, overshadowed by heathen darkness. The native Britons are driven out. The Anglo-Saxons, worshipers of Woden, are in possession of the country. The churches are destroyed, the ministry are dead or expelled, and Christianity has become a memory. We have not yet found the beginnings of the Anglican episcopate. But in the year A. D. 565, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*,† occurred an event which on account of its results must be reckoned among the most important events in the annals of time. Pope Gregory I, having gained the papal chair, determined to carry out his long-cherished and laudable design of sending missionaries to convert the Saxons. For this purpose he sent Augustine, prior of a monastery in Rome, with forty companions to Britain. They landed at Thanet, where Cæsar is said to have landed, an island on the east of Kent. Through interpreters Augustine held audience with the king, Ethelbert, and he, urged, no doubt, by his Christian wife, gave the missionaries permission to reside in Canterbury, which became the first archiepiscopal see of England, and to preach the Gospel. The result was that the king and his nation were brought from their heathen worship to the faith and comfort of Christ. The success of Augustine encouraged Gregory I to send him, A. D. 601, more missionaries, among whom were Justus, Melitus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. These became bishops of the sees erected by Augustine and his fellow-laborers. Laurentius, who had accompanied Augustine to Britain, succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. Melitus was consecrated Bishop of London A. D. 604, and succeeded Laurentius A. D. 619. Justus was Bishop of Rochester in 624, and in 625 Paulinus was consecrated Archbishop of York.‡ Thus we see Roman priests on the episcopal and archiepiscopal thrones of England.

* *The Early English Church*, p. 32.

† Bede, *History*, A. D. 597.

‡ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bohn, note, p. 54.

But what has become, during these stirring events, of the British ministers to whom modern Anglicans would link their episcopate? Bede informs us that with the assistance of King Ethelbert Augustine drew together to a conference "the bishops or doctors of the next province of the Britons," that is, Wales—for there were none of the British in England, the last British bishops, Theonas and Thadioc, having retreated to Wales—at a place called, in Bede's time, "Augustine's Oak," and pointing out to them their many divergencies from Roman doctrine and usages endeavored by entreaties, exhortations, and rebukes to bring them into unity with that Church. Had the union taken place the two streams of episcopal power, the Roman and the British, would here have mingled, and our Anglican's assumptions of an historic episcopate derived from the ancient British Churches would not be asserted now at the expense of history. But Augustine failed; the British would not surrender to Rome, although they agreed to hold a second conference. It is important to consider with the utmost care what the historian Bede writes concerning this synod: "This being decreed, there came (as is asserted) seven bishops of the Britons, and many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery, which in the English tongue is called Bancornburg, over which the abbot Dinooth is said to have presided at that time." Certain writers have given us the names of the sees which these bishops held, but there is not a shadow of proof for their statement nor for the assumption that these "bishops" were such in our modern prelatical sense. Bede himself has previously styled them "bishops or doctors." They came, it is said, from the famous monastery which has sent out eminent ministers of the word, but among whom there never was a bishop in the prelatic meaning of that title. The outcome of this conference was a refusal of the British to unite with Rome, for which boldness they paid dearly; for Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, says Bede, "made a very great slaughter of that perfidious nation," and out of twelve hundred clergy, many of whom were from Bangor, who came to pray for the success of the British arms, only fifty escaped alive.

Thus far, then, A. D. 603, there is no union between the

[illegible]man and British Churches, no flow of episcopal grace from [illegible]ish sources into Roman orders. The episcopal sees of [illegible]rk, Canterbury, London, and Rochester are filled by Romans, [illegible] has a single Briton been permitted to assist in the ordina[illegible]n of any bishop appointed to these sees. The two Churches [illegible]t on the banks of the Severn and parted, one destined to [illegible]premacy, the other to extinction. We may now turn our [illegible]ttention to the North, to the Picts and Scots. In A. D. 563 [illegible] renowned Columba passed over with twelve* companions [illegible]m Ireland to Scotland and converted the Picts to Chris[illegible]nity. He was given the island of Iona, where he built a [illegible]nastery, which was famous ever after in the annals of the [illegible]urch.† Columba was an Irish monk, a holy man; in [illegible]rs a presbyter. He and those who labored with him, and [illegible]r successors who carried the Gospel southward and with [illegible]rvelous zeal for Christ, brought the larger part of England [illegible]knowledge of the truth—for the Augustinian mission had [illegible]t spread much beyond Kent—were of the same faith, let it [illegible]ited, with the old Britons, and were neither subject to [illegible]e nor followed her customs. Bishop Hurst writes, [illegible]tween Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Brittany there was a [illegible]stant ebb and flow of missionaries. The Celtic Church was [illegible] great missionary Church in history." ‡ And Soames says:

> It is quite certain that, in Augustine's time, from A. D. 596 to 604, [illegible] Britain and Ireland were agreed upon religious questions. . . . [illegible] clergy may be described as one body, with as much accuracy as the [illegible] Anglican clergy, be they where they may, or the whole Romish [illegible]gy, be they where they may, may be described as one body.§

[illegible] historian Bede has preserved a letter‖ from the Roman [illegible]ps Laurentius, Melitus, and Justus in Britain to all the [illegible] bishops, which sustains abundantly the above statement:

> We hold both the Britons and Scots in great esteem for sanctity, be[illegible]g that they had proceeded according to the custom of the universal

* On the number twelve see an interesting note in Hurst's *History of the Christian* [illegible], vol. i, p. 622.

† [illegible]ender, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iii, p. 10. Note carefully what is [illegible] of the bishops acknowledging the authority of the abbots of the monastery.

‡ [illegible] *of the Christian Church*, vol. i, p. 582. Those Britons whom Bede says "fled [illegible]" found refuge in France and settled in that part called after them, Bre[illegible]ny.

§ *Latin Church*, p. 51, quoted by Cathcart.

‖ *Ecclesiastical History*, book ii, chap. iv, Bohn's edition.

Church ; but, becoming acquainted with the errors of the Britons, we thought the Scots* had been better; but we have been informed by Bishop Dagan† coming into this aforesaid island [Britain], and the Abbot Columbanus in France, that the Scots in no way differ from the Britons in their behavior ; for Bishop Dagan coming to us not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house where we were entertained.

Bede adds, "The same Laurentius and his fellow-bishops wrote a letter to the priests of the Britons, suitable to his rank, by which he endeavored to confirm them in Catholic unity; but what he gained by so doing the present times will declare."

The consequence of this mission of Columba and founding of the monastery of Iona, is of much importance in our research. In A. D. 635 Oswald succeeded his father, Ethelfrid, as King of Northumbria. Having been in his youth among the missionaries of Iona, he now sent to them for a bishop to instruct his subjects. Cormac was sent, but his mission proving a failure he returned and, "in an assembly of the elders," reported that he could do nothing with such barbarous people. At the conclusion of his address there arose a young priest, Aidan, who in kind but firm and measured words attributed Cormac's failure to his austere disposition. The wisdom and mildness of Aidan drew to himself the attention of the elders; and, says Bede, "having heard these words all present began diligently to weigh what he had said, and presently concluded that he deserved to be made a bishop." Then, as long after the presbyter John Wesley laid hands on the presbyter Thomas Coke, and having ordained him to the episcopal office sent him to preach and administer the sacraments to the sheep without a shepherd in the wilderness of North America, these presbyters of Iona laid hands on Aidan, and having ordained him to the episcopal office sent him to preach to the Northumbrians.‡ The labors of Aidan, who had erected his episcopal see at Lindisfarne, were wonderfully blessed of God. Having rescued the king-

* Ireland was called *Scotia*, *Insula Scotorum*, by the writers of the sixth and seventh centuries. See note, p. 5, in Bohn's Bede's *History*.

† Dagan is said to have come from the monastery of Bangor, Ireland, and was bishop to the Scots. Note in Bohn's edition of Bede's *History*, p. 75.

‡ "Accordingly being ordained, they sent him to their friend, King Oswald, to preach." —Bede, p. 117.

dom of Northumberland and the large territories of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire from the darkness of heathenism, he went to his reward of eternal felicity. He was succeeded by Finnan. Finnan rivals Aidan in successful labors among the pagan Saxons. But he also came from the monastery of Iona, and was made bishop by the presbyters of that celebrated center of learning and evangelical zeal. "In the meantime," says Bede, "Bishop Aidan being dead, Finnan, who was ordained by the Scots, succeeded him in the bishopric." * Finnan converted the Mercians, reclaimed the kingdom of the East Saxons—in a word, the greater part of England—and established episcopal sees over which presided bishops having ordination from the Scottish presbyters. The historic truth is that the old Irish missionaries from Iona, Aidan, Finnan, and Colman, and not Augustine and his followers, were the real apostles of England. On the death of Finnan, Colman, also ordained by the presbyters of Iona, succeeded him in the bishopric, A. D. 664.

Up to this last date, as we see, the Roman Church has utterly failed to impose her orders or usages on the British Church, which was one in faith and practice with the Church of Columba, Aidan, Finnan, Colman, and all who were of the old Celtic stock. The two Churches from the beginning were from political, social, and religious reasons mutually antagonistic. There could be no reconciliation between them. The Roman Church was foreign to the soil; patronized by the Saxon kings and chieftains, it represented to the despoiled and conquered British all that was most hateful in the cruelty and barbaric oppression of their conquerors; and, as the Saxons had robbed them of their civil and political liberty, they could not but regard the Romans as having designs upon their religious freedom. We have already caught a glimpse of those far-away times in the letter of the Roman bishops Laurentius, Melitus, and Justus; but even as late as A. D. 731 the Venerable Bede shows that the deep-rooted prejudice between the two races had in no degree abated.

"The Britons, though they, for the most part, through innate hatred averse to the English nation, and wrongfully, and from a wicked

* *History*, p. 153.

custom, oppose the appointed Easter of the whole Catholic Church, yet, from both the divine and human power withstanding them, can in no way prevail as they desire; for though in part they are their own masters, yet elsewhere they are brought under subjection to the English.

The old British Church, or what was left of it, persistently refused to manifest any interest in the salvation of their Saxon persecutors, for which contumacy Bede regards it as a divine judgment that the British "continue inveterate in their errors, expose their head without a crown, and keep the solemnity of Christ without the society of the Church." Lingard, in his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, quotes St. Aldhelm (A. D. 705), who says that "the clergy of Demetia (South Wales) carried their abhorrence of the Catholic discipline to such an extreme that they punished the most trivial conformity with a long course of penance, and purified with fanatic scrupulosity every utensil which had been contaminated by the touch of a Roman or a Saxon priest."

Finally, the struggle for supremacy between the two Churches was brought to a close by a remarkable train of events. The Celtic missionaries, one with the Britons, had achieved wonderful success and were fast gaining control of the various kingdoms. Rome also, aided by royal influence, had made considerable progress. In due time the advancing tides met. At Streanashalch, afterward named Whitby, an assembly was called by authority of the king, Oswy, to settle if possible the ecclesiastical turmoil. On the one side were arrayed Colman and his Ionian missionaries; on the other, Agilbert, Roman bishop of the West Saxons, and several Roman priests. King Oswy and his son Alfrid were the umpires. The contest was marked by earnestness, but was decided at length in favor of Rome. Colman, however, refused to be convinced or to submit, but, "perceiving that his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised, took with him such as would not comply with the Catholic Easter and the tonsure . . . and went back into Scotland to consult with his own people what was to be done in this case." Thus triumphed the Church of Rome! The British Church, as has been seen, refused to coalesce with the Roman, and no epis-

copal power or authority had been infused by her into Roman orders. The Scottish Church refused to submit in the person of Colman, and both he and his followers went away to Iona by the "crowding waves," never to return. Rome, with her imperial instincts, was left in possession of the field. The supremacy of Rome was not complete, however, till Theodore, an imperious Greek, was sent from Rome to the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. Theodore entered upon his task with energy. He visited all parts of England, and in every place ordained bishops according to the teaching of the victorious Church. In no instance in these ordinations were the orders of the British Church recognized, nor were those acknowledged as bishops who had been ordained such by the presbyters of Iona. A telling example is on record, which Anglicans who seek to claim episcopal descent from the ancient British Church would do well to study. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield, had been ordained by Wini, who had been ordained in France, assisted by two bishops of the British nation. When Theodore came he "upbraided" Chad in that he had not been truly consecrated and was therefore no bishop. Chad replied, "If you know I have not duly received episcopal ordination I am willing to resign the office." But the archbishop, impressed with his humility, declined to accept his resignation, and reordained him.

This epochal act completed Rome's unworthy triumph. From that day we hear no more of the glorious Celtic Churches of Britain and Ireland. The people followed the lead of those in authority, and Roman bishops without any infusion of episcopal grace from the vanishing British episcopacy successively filled the sees of England till the Anglican Episcopacy was instituted in the days of the Reformation. The claim then of Anglican advocates of the historic episcopate, that they derive their episcopacy, not through Augustine and Rome, but from the ancient British Church, is absolutely without foundation in history. From Augustine and his successors in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury is the succession up to the Reformation period derived; and from Augustine the succession goes back direct to Rome, and not to the ancient Church of Britain.

But let it be granted that the Anglican contention has some reasonable ground—that in some instance, known or unknown, the gulf between the Roman and Celtic Churches was bridged by British bishops assisting at the consecration of a Roman bishop—of what possible benefit can such a concession be to the Anglican episcopacy? The conclusions of historians who have made the early British and Irish Churches a subject of special study are not all in agreement; but no amount of special pleading can invalidate the fact that the British bishops, like the Celtic bishops, Aidan, Finnan, and Colman, were all presbyters, and like the bishops in the early Alexandrian Church were ordained to the episcopal office by the laying on of hands by the presbyters. Bede tells us Aidan was ordained in this manner, and all efforts to draw a distinction between the power of jurisdiction and ordination are made more in the interest of a theory than in a nonpartisan desire to elucidate the facts. The Ionian presbyters claimed the right to ordain, and they exercised it. The British bishops in orders were on an equality with the Ionian bishops. Neither were superior to the other, and they therefore could not transmit what they did not possess; and if Anglicans could trace back their episcopal authority to the early British Church their pedigree would end at last in the ordinations of presbyter-bishops.* To put this beyond reasonable doubt we quote the historical proof, in addition to the proof given in the case of Chad, that the Roman Church refused to recognize or in any way acknowledge Celtic or British orders. Archbishop Ussher quotes a decree, probably of Theodore's time, which reads: "Such as have received ordination from the bishops of the Scots, or the Britons, who in the matter of Easter and tonsure are not united unto the Catholic Church, let them be again, by imposition of hands, confirmed by a Catholic bishop." Again, In the fifth canon of the Council of Cealhythe in England, held A. D. 816, it was decreed that no one of the Scottish race should be permitted to usurp to himself ministerial office in anyone's diocese, nor should it be lawful to give consent to his touching any of the holy orders—*Neque ei consentire liceat ex*

* See the careful statements of Bishop Hurst, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. pp. 628, 629, and note 2 at bottom of p. 581.

...ro ordine aliquod attingere—or to receive from them in ...tism, or in the celebration of the mass, or that they should ... the eucharist to the people, because, said the council, "We are uncertain by whom they have been ordained, if by ... one—*Quia incertum est nobis, unde et ab aliquo ordinen...*" * And Ussher again is authority for the following, which ...ows how wide the gulf was between the British and Roman ...urches, and how impossible that the latter should recognize ... orders of the former:

...e of the instructions that the Romans gave the Saxons was this: "You must beware that causes be not referred to other provinces or ...urches which use another manner and another religion; whether to ... Jews, who serve the shadow of the law rather than the truth, or to ... Britons, who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themselves off ... the Roman manner, and the unity of the Church." †

The old British Churches were ignored, absorbed, or grad...lly disintegrated by the growing power of Rome; and the ...ons were denied possessing any valid orders at all by the ...me domineering ecclesiasticism. Thus Roman orders were ... only orders that came down from Augustine to the Refor...tion, and the claim of the Anglican writers to an historic ...iscopate derived from the ancient British Church cannot be ...tained by an impartial interpretation of all the facts in the ...se. If we have omitted many statements concerning the see ... St. David made by Anglican writers we have also omitted ... answers to them.

The derivation of the historic episcopate from the East ...ough the archiepiscopal sees of Lyons and Arles now de...nds our attention, though for anything like an adequate ...tment of the theme but little space remains. The impor...ce of this claim, however, is not very great; indeed, we might ...mit that Augustine did receive the succession from St. John ...ough successive bishops in the sees of Lyon and Arles, and ... show, as we have elsewhere proved,‡ that that succession, ... some other Eastern streams, ran into the ground and was ... at the beginning of the Anglican episcopate. But, lest it ... appear that we have purposely avoided this supposed

* Gratian's *Concil.*, vol. i, p. 339. † Works, vol. iv, p. 350, Dublin edition.
‡ *The Historic Episcopate*, chap. vi.

Gibraltar, we shall in the little space left us indicate how extremely doubtful this hope of Anglican defenders really is. We may admit that Christianity in Gaul was originally received from Asia Minor. This fact is the first important premise Anglicans lay down, and from which they seek to draw far-reaching conclusions. We are reminded that the ecclesiastical language of the Gallic Churches was Greek, that their liturgies and hymns were in Greek, that their renowned bishops were Greek, and that the Christians of Gaul in the sable days of persecution were in brotherly communication with the churches in Asia and Phrygia. These are elementary facts in Church history. But they fall short of being any proof for our Anglican claims, for the logical reason that these other facts are also true, namely that, for nearly three hundred years the Church of Rome was also Greek; her ecclesiastical language was Greek, her liturgies, Scriptures, and hymns were in Greek, nearly all the Roman writers wrote in Greek, everything was in Greek except the literature of jurisprudence. So far, then, as identity of language may be used to show the dependence of the Gallic Churches on the Churches of the East, the same evidence will show the relation existing between Gaul and Rome. Upon this point, therefore, we need not linger, nor upon the fact, of which there is abundant proof, that Arles, the bishop of which, Virgillius, consecrated Augustine, was under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.

We shall reach the core of the subject quicker and more surely if we turn these minor questions aside and take up the first really important question, Who founded the see of Arles, and by whom was he consecrated? On the verdict here resulting depends the whole Anglican case. The earliest records show that the first bishop of Arles was Trophimus. But by whom was Trophimus consecrated? Anglican writers are interested in proving that Trophimus received the succession from the East. The results of investigation, however, do not bring forth any clear certain evidence in favor of that desire. French writers assert that during the pontificate of Fabianus, martyred A. D. 249, the missionaries Felix and Fortunatus, Ferrèol, Marcellus, Saturnius, Andèol, Privatus, Denis, and Trophimus were sent from Rome to establish Christianity in

Gaul. Trophimus came to Arles and there founded the episcopal see of that name. Some affirm that he was sent there from Rome by the apostle Peter in the reign of the emperor Claudius, in proof of which they cite a letter signed by nineteen bishops, praying Pope Leo to restore to Arles its ancient privileges. Roman writers, on the authority of Gregory of Tours, assure us that Trophimus was sent to Arles as its first bishop in A. D. 250, during the reign of Decius and the pontificate of Fabianus. None of these writers have any suspicion of the Eastern origin of the Arlesan episcopate, nor, we may add, have Anglican writers produced sufficient evidence to invalidate the testimony of antiquity.

The second important question relates to the origin of the see of Lyons. In the consecration of Augustine Virgillius of Arles was assisted by Etherius, the thirty-first bishop of Lyons. The succession in the Lyonese bishopric was derived, say Anglicans, from St. John the apostle. The apostle ordained Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna; Polycarp ordained Pothinus Bishop of Lyons; Pothinus ordained Irenæus; and thus the succession came down through Etherius to Augustine, from whom it was continued to the Anglican bishops at the Reformation. Now, the belief of antiquity and of the whole Anglican Church, perhaps, of the present day is that Polycarp, the holy martyr, was ordained Bishop of Smyrna by the apostle John. The grounds for this tradition are the statements of Irenæus,* Tertullian,† and Eusebius.‡ But can this tradition endure the test of criticism? The Anglican theory demands absolute certainty, without which it is worthless; and the all-important question therefore is, Can this ancient belief be sustained? As is well known, varying dates are given for the death of the apostle John. They range anywhere from A. D. 90 to A. D. 100. Different dates are also given for the date of Polycarp's death. The dates given are A. D. 155, 166, 168, 169. The *Chronicle* of Eusebius gives 166 or 167 as the date. At the time of his death he had been eighty-six years a Christian. Let us examine these figures. Take, for instance, the date given by Jerome and now generally accepted, 167.

* *Against Heresies*, book iii, sec. 4.
† *Prescrip.*, chap. xxxii.
‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, chap. xiv.

If Polycarp died that year, and he was eighty-six when he died, the date of his birth was A. D. 81, and when the apostle John died in A. D. 90 he was only nine years old. He certainly was not made a bishop over the Church at Smyrna at that period of his life. Let the earliest date, 155, be taken. This is accepted by Lightfoot, Lipsius, Harnack, Renan, and a few others on the researches of the French savant, M. Waddington. In that case Polycarp was born A. D. 69, and at the death of John he was twenty-one. This is the only favorable date Anglicans can fix upon; but is at all probable that he was appointed bishop at that youthful age? Lightfoot* thinks it is, and calls to mind the fact that William Pitt was prime minister of England at twenty-four. We might also call the roll of other young men who achieved renown before they were thirty, as William the Silent, Napoleon, Gustavus Adolphus, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun; but with all due respect for the critical abilities and eminent scholarship of the late Bishop of Durham we insist that illustration of exceptionable genius is in this case no logical argument. Between the bishopric of Smyrna in the days of the apostle John and the English House of Parliament or the Senate of the United States there is, we submit, a very far-fetched analogy. There is no analogy at all in circumstances, conditions, or anything else from which one could possibly reason that because Pitt was chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons at twenty-three, or prime minister at twenty-four, therefore it is not improbable that Polycarp was made bishop at twenty-one. If Polycarp was thus early bishop we are also to believe that he held the episcopate sixty-five years. But it is generally agreed that he was bishop for fifty years prior to his death. This last number plays havoc, however, with the tradition that John ordained him.

Polycarp was bishop at the time of his death. Let it be as Lightfoot thinks, A. D. 155. If that is the correct date, which we doubt, and A. D. 90 the date of St. John's death, and Polycarp was fifty years a bishop, then the date of Polycarp's ordination was A. D. 105, fifteen years after the death of the apostle. If we take A. D. 166, which is more probable, then

* *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, Essay iv.

he was ordained in A. D. 117, that is, twenty-seven years after the apostle had fallen asleep in A. D. 90. If we carry the date of John's death forward ten years to A. D. 100, still the apostle was dead seventeen years before Polycarp's consecration to the episcopacy. But, to give the claim every chance, let A. D. 155 be taken as the date of Polycarp's death, and A. D. 100 as the date of John's departure, and even then it will be seen that if Polycarp was fifty years a bishop he must have been ordained in A. D. 105, that is, five years after the death of John. Indeed, we will go yet further, and accepting the dates 155 and 90 as correct, grant that Polycarp was bishop sixty years—and he surely was not bishop before his twenty-sixth year—and even then it will be seen that he was ordained in A. D. 95, five years again after the death of St. John.

But let us surrender all of the above, and grant that he was bishop seventy years. He would then, it is true, have been ordained five years before the death of John, and John certainly could have ordained him. But in that case how old would Polycarp have been at his ordination? Sixteen. Finally, to anticipate as many objections as possible in so little space, let it be assumed that eighty-six measures the length of Polycarp's Christian life, not his natural life. In so doing we solve none of these difficulties, for it is most difficult to believe that anyone with so few years of Christian experience and trial would be appointed bishop of a Church in those days of danger in every hour of which could be seen the shadow of Damocles's sword, not to mention the probable apostolic practice, enjoined by the apostle Paul, not to elevate a novice.* But if we still insist that Polycarp was ordained when in his twenty-first year, then we must also accept the inevitable consequence, which nobody accepts, that Polycarp, instead of being eighty-six at the time of his death, was actually over a hundred years old. We cannot here enlarge upon our objections to this ancient tradition, nor show yet other difficulties which arise from a comparison of other dates; but enough has been shown, we think, to indicate that this tradition, like many others, does not rest upon so firm a rock as is universally supposed.

* Moreover, we run against the Apostolical Constitutions, which Anglicans so often refer to in proof of their position, for they expressly declare that a bishop should not be "under fifty years of age." Book ii, sec. 1.

But, notwithstanding all we have written, let it be granted that John did ordain Polycarp bishop. How then does the succession come down from Polycarp at Smyrna to Irenæus at Lyons? Through Pothinus, we are told, who was ordained by Polycarp, and who, in turn, ordained his successor, Irenæus. But what proof is there that Pothinus ordained Irenæus? Not one single shred. What proof is there that Irenæus was ordained by any Eastern bishop? None. On the contrary, we shall now show that Irenæus was consecrated Bishop of Lyons at Rome, and therefore by the Roman Church, which fact cuts the thread between Lyons and Ephesus and ties the succession in Lyons to the episcopate of Rome. In the account of the martyrdoms at Lyons, A. D. 177, sent by the Christians there to the churches in the East, we read:

> But the blessed Pothinus, who had faithfully performed the ministrations of the episcopate at Lyons, and who was past his ninetieth year, and very infirm in body, who, indeed, scarcely drew his breath, so weak was he in body at the time; yet in the ardor of his soul, and his eager desire for martyrdom, he roused his remaining strength, and was himself dragged to the tribunal.*

From the seat of the judge he was dragged by the soldiers, cruelly scourged, and thrown into prison, where he died in two days. Now, it is also in evidence that at the same time this letter was written to the churches in Asia a letter was sent by the brethren in Lyons to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome. From Eusebius we learn that this letter, among others, was written by the martyrs "whilst yet in prison," and that this letter was carried to Rome by Irenæus. He writes: "But these same martyrs, recommending also Irenæus, who was then a presbyter of the Church at Lyons, to the Bishop of Rome, before mentioned, bear abundant testimony in his favor, as the following extracts show." He then quotes from the letter, as follows:

> We pray and desire, father Eleutherius, that you may rejoice in God in all things and always. We have requested our brother and companion, Irenæus, to carry this epistle to you, and we exhort you to consider him as commended to you as a zealous follower of the testament of Christ. For if we knew that any place could confer righteousness upon anyone we would certainly commend him among the first as a presbyter of the Church, the station that he holds.

* Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, book v, chap. i.

It is certain, then, that Pothinus did not ordain Irenæus, and that if Pothinus obtained the succession from Ephesus it died with him. He did not transmit it to his successor in the see of Lyons. From the documentary evidence before us, which can neither be modified nor set aside, Pothinus is dead, and Irenæus is sent as a presbyter with a letter to Rome. He has not at this date been ordained bishop by anyone, though from the tone of the letter which he carries, and in which he is recommended, it seems to be the desire of the Church at Lyons that he should be their bishop. To Rome, then, Irenæus went as a presbyter, and the next we hear of him he is Bishop of Lyons. Where was he consecrated? Undoubtedly at Rome, and by the Roman Church, whatever benefit that may be. By the way of Rome, then a pure Church, Irenæus himself traces the succession; for, after giving the list of the successive bishops in the Roman see down to Eleutherius, he says, "In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us." He then goes on to speak of Polycarp in Asia.

We have now in briefest manner honestly tested this claim of Anglican writers. The claim that episcopal authority was received by the Anglican bishops from the early British Church is found to be without foundation, and the similar claim that succession was also received from Eastern bishops back to St. John at Ephesus is seen to be equally baseless; for we have seen on undoubted data that from Rome, whether for weal or woe to the Anglican Church, the succession came to the sees of Lyons and Arles. In our investigations we have made no special plea, nor have we knowingly misrepresented facts, or placed them in false perspective, or severed them in any way from their true relations. On the contrary, we have described the exact situation in each instance with scrupulous fidelity to the sources of history, and if the results of our research are not satisfactory to Anglican claimants the trouble is not with the facts, nor with our use of them, but with the false and unhistorical claims of the Anglican episcopacy.

R. J. Cooke.

Art. VII.—A COLLOQUY IN ETHICS.

In these days when the theory of evolution in one form or another is so widely, indeed, almost universally, accepted, and when, on the other hand, the science of ethics is claiming an increasing attention on the part of all thinking men, the question of some *modus vivendi* between the two is one that presses upon thinkers. To very many it seems hard to rise by any process of evolution to the plane of a commanding and absolute moral sense. Yet, the consciousness of man being the witness, conscience does speak with authority. Has it any right so to speak? Can it command obedience on the part of one who is a thorough evolutionist? The colloquy which follows is an attempt to exhibit in a vivid way the *crux* of the question, and to show a line along which to the essayist a satisfactory solution may be found.

Imagine two men upon a small raft in mid-ocean. They are all that are left after a shipwreck. They have on board barely enough in the way of provisions to make it likely that one of them may be preserved until a rescue. The raft itself is insufficient to float them both, except in the calmest weather. The presence of each one on the raft is a threat to the life of the other. Of these two men A is strong and healthy, with a development almost perfect both in mind and body. He is about forty years of age. He has left at home a wife and family of children who love him and depend upon him. He has attained a position in society which makes him an important factor in the life of his community. He is one whose opinion carries weight in the literary world. Should any crisis occur in the State or the national life to which he belongs he would be able in all probability to take an active and important part. In a word, he is a man whose life means much to himself, to his family, to his friends, to his nation. B, on the other hand, is far past the prime of life. His health is not strong. He may be said to have had most of his good things. There is no home that would be made desolate by his death. There are no children who are depending upon his life. He is not one to whom men listen. He is not one who can exert

influence in any large way. He is not one who would be very much missed were he never to return.

Dwelling upon these things, A speaks and says to B, "You must see that this raft is not enough for both of us. You must see, furthermore, that the stock of provisions saved will not suffice for two. It would seem that only one of us can be saved, and I propose, therefore, that you leave the raft to me."

B responds, "That is rather a cool proposition. My life is as dear to me as yours is to you, and I have as much right to stay here as you have."

"Nay," answers A, "I have the right of might; I am the stronger. It is quite easy for me to throw you off, and if you decline to remove yourself it is just that which I propose to do; and, more than that, I think you would find it hard to give me any good reason why I should not do it."

"Why," responds B, "there is one reason that ought to be influential with any man who makes the slightest pretense to decency, or manhood, or honor. There is one reason that at home you yourself would admit to be sufficient to determine your action, and that reason is simply that it is wrong to do what you propose to do. It would be a crime; it would be a sin; it would be a violation of your sense of duty."

"No," says A, "it is right there that I take issue with you. You must know that I have long since laid aside religion which talks about sin. I have long since ceased to worship God. I take no stock in revelation. I have thrown myself absolutely upon Nature and her teachings. I believe in the universal prevalence of causation. I look at the invariable sequence of things through the universe. I open my ear to the teachings of natural processes, and what they teach I believe, what they fail to teach I do not believe; and so I find myself bringing the question of right and wrong to this same great teacher, natural science. I am an evolutionist and an agnostic; I believe in the survival of the fittest; I believe in Darwin's theory of the origin of species; I believe in the gradual climbing up of life by this same principle of the survival of the fittest and the extinction of the unfit. And what does all this teach me as to conduct? The fittest would appear to be the strongest, the best adapted for the struggle of life. As we look back

through the long series the most invariable outcome has been that the strong has survived and the weak has gone under. What this would teach as to the present situation is plain. As between you and me who is the stronger? Which is best fitted to survive? Therefore it would seem that listening to the teaching of my science I am justified in forcing you from the raft."

"But," says B, "in speaking thus you are false to your own great master, Spencer, for he teaches that out of evolution, properly studied, there does grow and has grown an ethic; that as life climbs up higher and higher until it approaches the human standard there comes in another principle, the principle of sociality, which modifies the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, so that the most helpful to the social group survives; that through this principle of sociality sympathy intervenes and altruism finds a place; that during the long millenniums of human advancement the variations of function, of organ, and of habit which have made for social advancement have become more and more dominant; and that so has come into human nature a tendency almost irresistible to give us a social morality, a tendency strong enough to overcome the self-regarding tendency that would make self more important than the society of which it is a part."

"It is true," says A, "that Spencer has endeavored to expound such an ethic, that he has written a book to accomplish it; but, in my opinion, it is equally true that, clever as his book is, subtle as are many of its propositions, he has only shown that the evolved action of which he speaks is useful, that it tends to utility and pleasure. His system has never risen to the 'ought;' it gives no account of the commanding nature of conscience; it does not account for the existence of the feeling in the human soul that that soul is absolutely bound to do or not to do certain things. More than that, perhaps the cleverest thing that he has done in the book is the way he has met the position of the intuitional moralist. He has not denied that certain feelings are born in us, that they emerge in conscience in our earliest conscious life, that the dictates of an absolute morality seem to lie at the very base of all our thinking and feeling. The sense of merit and of demerit, of which the growing youth becomes conscious, testifies to the intuitions

lying at the foundation of his mental structure. All this Mr. Spencer unhesitatingly admits; but he proceeds to show the origin of this—how it is simply the result of accumulated utilities and tendencies passed down from generation to generation by heredity, until the utilities of countless ancestors have finally organized in us intuitional feelings in favor of what has been useful, against what has been hurtful to self or society. The remorse generated in conscience, the sense of demerit and apprehension of penalty which accompany wrongdoing, the entire condemning work of conscience he traces back to the slowly accumulated effect of the repressive power used by the governing force of communities in deterring their members from acts hurtful to society. But, after all, we reflect that the stream cannot rise higher than the source. It is a proverb that 'we can get no blood out of a stone.' It is equally true that we cannot generate 'ought' out of mere utilities, or, for the matter of that, out of mere repressions by force, no matter how long continued. Therefore I am perfectly reasonable in refusing obedience to the mere conscientious feeling that I ought to do a thing. Mr. Spencer has shown me that that 'ought' is not binding against the dictates of my reason, or against even the claims of what seems to me the more desirable good. Besides all this, the social utilities from which he evolves his morality are in the present instance in my favor. Upon me there is hanging the happiness of a family; more or less, the good of a neighborhood, the advancement of science, the progress of civic reform, the welfare of the country. Toward all these I am able to make a positive contribution, while you are not. Therefore, I abide by my purpose to claim sole possession of this raft."

"But," says B, "have you no conscience? Will you not feel remorse? Is there not that within you that makes you shrink and shudder at the thought of such an act?"

"Yes," answers A, "I frankly confess there is such a feeling. I shall have to do violence to myself, I admit, to carry out my purpose; but this feeling is simply the prejudice of bringing up, it is a trace of superstition, the remains of the religious fear of God instilled in me in my childhood. More than that, the authority at the head of each social group has so long

punished all violations of social obligations by those who have in any way taken the law into their own hands, and who ever dared to go contrary to the conventions of society, that we are all made cowards. Mr. Spencer well says, 'Men have been scared into a sense of moral obligation by the baton of the primitive policeman, the ostracism of primitive society, and the hell of primitive priests.' I confess that I feel this as strongly as you do. But while I feel it I see its origin; I know it springs, not from reason, but from unreason, and I am confident that it is quite unworthy of a thorough naturalistic agnostic and evolutionist, such as I am."

"But," responds B, "you doubtless as a naturalist accept the authority of Darwin. It was he who taught you the great doctrine of the survival of the fittest through natural selection. Are you not willing to go with him when he believes in the binding obligation of the conscience, and shows you how remorse, a part of conscience, has been generated? According to him, by your own principles, by the methods which you yourself accept, there has come to exist in the human constitution something which commands, and has a right to command, obedience on the part of men under the penalty of remorse."

"Ah," responds A, "you have come upon Darwin in his moment of greatest weakness. We must distinguish between Darwin the ethical speculator and Darwin the observer and interpreter of facts in natural history. The last Darwin we may follow with perfect safety, the other Darwin gives us pause. He has tried indeed to do what you say in the famous chapters in his volume on the *Descent of Man*, but, *me judice*, he has singularly failed. He is clearly convincing in his true sphere, in his exposition of the great truth of the survival of the fittest; but he has broken down in his attempt to fasten to it what does not necessarily belong to it, namely, the utilitarian system of morals. With that system as his undemonstrated postulate he has undertaken to explain the derivation of conscience. He finds in primitive and as yet nonmoral man two things—sociability, that is, the tendency to live together in herds, communities, or tribes, and the higher intelligence which marks man from the lower animals. From these two qualities, sociability and intelligence, he proceeds to manufacture the

primitive conscience. That conscience he bases on the greater and more constant pressure of social impulses, rather than of those which make simply for self-preservation or self-gratification. His claim is that the impulses which make for the good of others, of the community, of society, are so much stronger, so much more constant than those which make for self-advantage, that the suppression of these social, other-regarding impulses in favor of impulses which make for self-gratification or self-preservation tends to produce in a nonmoral being a sense of uneasiness and dissatisfaction that would sooner or later pass into remorse. His argument seems to go on all fours. We follow it, and unless very wary assent to its every step. But the difficulty is, we have in us now, however we may have come by them, certain moral sentiments, and it is they which win us to assent. But the problem is to account for the first appearance of a moral nature where there was none before; to account for the emergence in a nonmoral animal of a sense of obligation which will bring a feeling of remorse in case of disobedience. Without a moral nature to begin with there would be no tendency to follow the altruistic impulses rather than the agnostic. The strongest desires, the present impulses, the impulses that would bring the greatest pleasure, would be the ones to follow. In the absence of any ground for the higher worthiness of certain motives than others—the postulate of the intuitional moralist, but the *bête noire* of the hedonist—there could come no remorse because the most pressing impulses had been followed. Without at all intending to do it—for no man could be found more honest than Mr. Darwin—he has simply sneaked in his moral nature and let it win the argument for him. No, Mr. Darwin has left ethics where he found them. He has not explained the origin, he has not traced the binding obligation of conscience to natural selection. He leaves us very much where Spencer does, who says, 'The good is universally the pleasurable, and conduct is made good or bad solely by its pleasure-giving or pain-giving effects.' I decline, therefore, to be bound by Mr. Darwin's ethics. Neither from his argument nor Herbert Spencer's *Data of Ethics* do I find anything in conscience that really binds me. They set forth utilities and pleasures,

probable laws, prudential courses of conduct. They tell me it is well to do this, to do that; that so I shall find profit or pleasure. They are guides whom I may well follow in the ordinary paths of life, but I find myself now where ordinary guidance is not sufficient. Here is a question of life and death, and I place myself upon the great fact of the survival of the fittest; I include even the question of social utilities, and I find nothing to hold my hands, and so I insist upon my purpose of maintaining sole possession of this raft."

"But stay," cries B; "I see that I must meet you as far as possible on your own grounds. I too am an evolutionist. As a teacher of science, as an almost inspired exponent of scientific methods, Mr. Darwin wins my wonder and admiration. So long as he confines himself to his own scientific province I sit at his feet as a willing pupil. With equal admiration I listen to Spencer; I wonder at his encyclopedic learning, at his power of clear expression, at his marvelous generalizations; and so long as he confines himself to science I scarcely dare to criticise. But in spite of all this, in spite of my belief in evolution, I find an authority in conscience, something that binds me, something I cannot disobey, something that will scourge me if I do disobey, something that seems to me not derivative but absolute. I look back over the course of evolution of species and see it to be the seizing and preserving of variations, whether of organ, or function, or habit, or instinct. Such variations as are useful in the struggle of life are maintained, preserved, and such as are useless or less useful are gradually extinguished, and so these variations I see to have been the steps in the ladder by which life has come from its home in the Ascidian to its home in man. Now, whence came these variations? Natural selection does not provide a cause for them. Are they merely random things, of fortuitous origin, the result of chance mechanical action? Whence comes in organisms the tendency to vary? Is that a mere chance, or random thing? And whence comes it that there is such a relation between variations and environment, that such variations become the steps in a constantly ascending ladder? Is it not fair to infer that back of such variations, and back especially of the relation by which the variation

and environment together result in a steadfast advance, there is somewhere thought, plan, purpose? No organism varies indefinitely. Huxley says, 'Variation is not indefinite. Natural selection would work equally well if variability is definite, and is determined in certain directions rather than in others by conditions inherent in that which varies. It is quite conceivable that organisms or species tend to produce varieties of a limited number and kind, and that the effect of natural selection is to favor the development of some of these, while it opposes the development of others in their predetermined line of modification.' These words are adopted as tenets of the system. Says Professor Asa Grey, 'The facts do not support the assumption of indefinite and unlimited variations.' That is, there is a method; it is not mere chance, random, a million shots fired to hit one rabbit. Now, by natural selection no cause has been discovered for the origin of these variations which through inheritance are accumulated into specific characters, and there is nothing in Darwin's science to forbid the theist to hold a supernatural cause of such variations, if he will only substitute a gradual for a sudden creation. Natural selection does not get rid of mystery. In its simplest expression it shows only that beings with the most serviceable variations survive in the struggle for existence. Natural selection is not a power, scarcely even a process, but a result of a process, namely, of that sifting of forms effected through the all-testing combat of life. It leaves us face to face with a new mystery—the wonder of an organism so constituted that it throws off progressive modifications as materials for new species. Whence this strange content in organisms? Whence these variations? Whence this tendency to vary thus definitely? As we go further back in search of the secret it may be that we do not stop until we come to the ultimate atom in which Mr. Tyndall found the promise and potency of all the subsequent developments of matter and of life; and if we are not satisfied to stop there, but insist in going still further back, then we find ourselves in the presence of Mr. Spencer's inscrutable power underlying phenomena. He calls it inscrutable. He says that we can know nothing of it or about it. I say it is much to know that it is,

and that, since it is power, it exerts power; and I say further that if it is the ground of all phenomena, and in those phenomena I find thought, plan, system, a marvelous advance leading from the lowest forms of life up to the grand outcome in man—then I say it is fair to infer that this inscrutable power, so called, is acting, is thinking, and is superintending in its own way the gradual growth that advances from the beginning to the end through the marvelous process of evolution. When I see order and progress in human arrangements I infer a human will, and, seeing as I am made to see by Darwin himself order and progress in nature, I put aside the suggestion of chance and infer a thinking God and superhuman will. I say that the tendency in the structure to vary and the something outside the structure helping one kind of variation and checking the other kinds were intended to work together as they do. Until it has been proved that the working together of internal and external relations so as to accomplish a progressive result is not due to design, we are compelled to suppose that it is. I find, therefore, a great designer as well as superintendent, and 'evolution,' as John Fiske says, 'is only God's way of doing things.'

"If now that is so, what are we to say of conscience? Why not this, that it is God's thought about human conduct which through the process of natural selection has got itself incarnate in human nature, and therefore that there is in it something absolute, authoritative, imperial? To the theist this is plain. In the beginning was God. In him were and are thought, will, purpose, as well as power. He filleth all things, and evolution is simply the method of his work, the process of his manifestation. From the beginning there is a goal in view. Toward the goal there is movement, slow but sure. In every stage of the movement there is an outcome of his will, as of his power. Every stage, every variation seized upon, used, developed by natural selection, is a revelation of a choice, a preference, a decision of God. It is God's way of pushing life on and up. So through the long march, through vegetable life and animal life, ascent is made to man. We go back so far as we can to the beginnings of his story, and we find him equipped with not only mind but conscience. We

look the world through, and wherever we find tribes or groups of men we find the same thing; not merely a rudimentary conscience, not only certain moral rules, utilities, but an ideal of conduct, an imperative voice which commands and condemns. So far as observation goes it shows us that somehow this Minerva got full armed into the human brain. There may be only rudimentary hints in lower animals, but in man there seems to be a measure of completeness. There may be a clarifying and enlightening of the moral sense as man advances from savagery to barbarism, to civilization, to enlightenment, but in essence, in germ, it was all there at the beginning. Here, then, in the moral faculty is a marvelous variation emerging in primitive man. What has been done with it? Why, environment has seized upon it, preserved it, worked for and with it. It has survived, been heightened and cleared in every preserved human group. The stars in their courses have fought for it, society has made obeisance to it. Men in spite of themselves have done it reverence. It caps the climax of evolution, it is the splendid efflorescence of the long slow germination. It is the voice of God, it is God's thought as to human conduct finding articulate expression. It is the law whose dwelling is the bosom of God, written on the walls of the human soul and, since evolution is only a method of divine working, written there by the finger of God. It is a revelation, therefore, of the eternal righteousness that dwells in God, and binding upon every human soul. It is absolute, ultimate, derived from God, commanding, the categorical imperative which leaves us only the alternative of obedience or self-contempt. So, as an evolutionist, though a theistic one, as accepting fully Darwin's origin of species, and Spencer's strictly biological teachings, I still insist that before, under, and through the entire process has been and is the living God, and that in the last analysis it is his voice we hear in conscience. It is his 'Thou shalt' and 'Thou shalt not' that is there heard. It is his 'Thou shalt not murder' that is heard within you, and gives you pause in your wicked purpose; aye, that makes you half agree with me as I affirm that for you as well as for me it is better that you perish obeying your higher self, rather than save your lower self by destroying me."

"Yes," says A, "I have heard that presentation of the case, and I admit that natural selection does not account for definite variations or furnish a cause for them, and I admit that theism may come in here and affirm a thinking cause and a plan and thought, and so the implication and the emergence of a divine will in evolution. But for my part I choose the other alternative, and rest simply in the statement that we do not know how or whence variations come."

The next morning, alone on the raft, A soliloquizes thus: "Well, it is done. It did seem brutal to steal upon a man in his sleep and plunge him into the sea. Poor fellow! He talked well, exasperatingly well, indeed. I hope he died easily. It went against the grain to do it, but it was the only logical course. I do feel rather small and mean to-day, but there is no man that knows and no God that cares. I have acted in the clearest light I have; I have put aside the misgivings and hesitation gendered by a religion that I have outgrown, and done as my reason counseled. The survival of the fittest means of the strongest, the most effective. That, as between us, I certainly was. Therefore, down, conscience! Be quiet, misgivings! Away, remorse! So far as there is a right I have done it. He, the weaker, competed for life with me, the stronger. One had to go under. Naturally it was he. He died and I live. Evolution has had its way. There is no God but force, no plan but the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, no voice in all the universe that has a right to say to me, 'Thou shalt,' to say me nay in my push for self-preservation, self-development, and gratification. From the bar within, subsidized to condemn by religion and society, I appeal to nature, and she says, 'Rest in peace.' But peace, will it ever come?"

Reese F. Alsop

Art. VIII.—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AGAINST ITSELF.

It is not within the scope of this article to deal particularly with the merits of the professed cures of Christian Science treatment. No doubt many persons have been benefited by such treatment. Mental therapeutics is no new art. All well-informed persons know that for ages mental healing has been practiced under different names, and by persons of varying types of character and different degrees of intelligence and honesty. A great many different forms of diseases and physical ailments have been relieved or cured by mental processes. These cures have been effected both with and without faith on the part of the subject of the healing; that is, so far as faith in the divine power of the healer is concerned.

We will lay down a few general principles which may, we think, be relied upon for the guidance of those who are inquiring into the phenomena of all kinds of mental healing, whether it be under the name of hypnotism, charms, faith healing, or Christian Science:

1. Character and honesty are not essential in the healer to the performance of these so-called cures.

2. Faith in Christ or in a supreme Being is not essential in the afflicted as a condition of this healing.

3. Faith in one's own will-power, or else in the power and the methods of the healer, is essential to success in mental healing.

4. Certain deranged conditions of the human organism are the result of abnormal conditions of mind or heart, and due solely to the influence of mind over matter.

5. The human organism possesses certain recuperative powers, by which, under normal conditions of mind, it may regulate and restore itself to a correspondingly normal condition.

6. Whatever, therefore, may or does restore the mind to its normal condition of action and the body to its normal conditions of environment may become the remedy for such diseases as are the result of these abnormal conditions.

7. Any disease, therefore, that is purely the result of some abnormal mental or moral condition may be cured by restor-

ing the mind to its healthy and normal condition, and that without the use of medicines, and solely through the inherent recuperative powers of the physical system.

8. These cures are limited to those cases which are purely functional in their character, as distinct from those which are known as organic diseases.

Let it be observed that many functional derangements of the bodily organs are the result of derangement in the functions of other organs which may themselves have become deranged through some abnormal mental condition. For instance, the digestive organs may become seriously impaired by such mental emotions as fright, anger, indignation, grief, hatred, jealousy, or other abnormal mental states. By sympathy functional derangement of the heart or other organs may follow until the patient fancies he has organic disease of almost every organ in the body, while possibly he may have no organic disease at all. Thus even a deranged imagination may add to the horrors of his other diseases. Now let Christian Science step in, or any other system of mental healing that can restore the mind to its normal condition by persuading the patient or victim of these horrors that there is nothing the matter with him but imaginary ills, and very soon he experiences a remarkable change in his feelings, and declares himself healed. And so he is. Healed of what? Of organic disease of the heart, stomach, liver, and lungs? Not at all, for he has had none of these, but cured of the abnormal conditions of mind which led to all these physical and mental horrors. Has Christian Science then done anything in the way of healing? Certainly it has. Let no one think to down this fanaticism by merely ridiculing the idea of Christian Science ever having done anything in the way of healing. It has done something, but nothing but what has long since been done without either faith, Christianity, or the knowledge of science itself. It has done nothing but what still can be done without the aid of Christian Science at all. It may, therefore, be laid down as a principle in mental healing that any condition which is wholly imaginary, or simply the result of an abnormal and unhealthful condition of mind, may possibly be remedied by any means that will restore the mind to

its normal and healthful condition, thereby leaving the system to the free action of the recuperative forces of nature.

Without entering farther into the subject of mind healing, we shall pass to the discussion of the merits of the system itself. At the outset we may pause to inquire, What are the fundamental principles of Christian Science? Its fundamental principles may be summarized as follows: 1. The unreality of matter. 2. The nonexistence of evil. 3. The unreliability of consciousness. On these three principles hang all the "law and the prophets" of Christian Science. Intimately associated with these fundamental principles, though not necessarily deducible from them, nor logically consistent with them, is the existence and, in some sense, the reality of mind. We say "not logically consistent," because, as we shall show later, to predicate the unreliability of consciousness is to repudiate the evidence of the existence of all mind. But Christian Science stops for no inconsistencies or logical contradictions in building its theories. In fact (as the purpose of this article is to show), it is a system, not only of logical absurdities, but of positive contradictions in all its fundamental propositions and principles. While many writers have pointed out absurdities in the theories, not one, so far as our observation has gone, has seemed to grasp the fundamental contradictoriness of the whole system, that is, that Christian Science is not only unscientific and unchristian in its methods and teachings, but is also antiscientific and antichristian in every particular. Or, in other words, so far from its being what it claims to be—Christian science—it is in its fundamental principles utterly destructive of all science and likewise of all Christianity.

That is, according to the first principles on which it is built there can be no science and no Christianity. In seeking to lay its foundations it strikes out by one fell sweep the foundations of every known science in the universe. So utterly annihilating to all science are these principles that they leave no foundation for even Christain Science itself to stand on. Yea, even the foundation principles themselves are logical absurdities and self-contradictions. If the reader will follow us closely, every one capable of appreciating the force of a

scientific and logical argument will see that Christian Science seals its own doom in the enunciation of its fundamental principles.

First, however, we would call attention to the fact that Christian Science is unscientific in its methods. It is neither inductive, deductive, nor intuitional. It strikes out at the beginning the whole realm of phenomena with which these methods have to deal. And more, it ridicules all such methods of scientific investigation as childish and fanciful. Facts, figures, and methods are alike relegated to the field of fancy or error. But, strange indeed, neither Mrs. Eddy nor any of her followers have ever discovered that in doing this they have left no foundation for their so-called science to rest on, nor any tools or material to build with. How absurd to attempt to build a science without any scientific method to work with or any material with which to build! Yet such is the sad predicament in which Mrs. Eddy places herself and her disciples when she announces her first principle, the unreality of matter. "The five senses are five personal lies." Matter "is nothing but a mortal illusion, wholly inadequate to affect man through its supposed existence." But, if matter is nothing but "a mortal illusion," then all the supposed facts and phenomena which science has to deal with are likewise "illusions;" and so all inductions and deductions regarding them are illusions also. Christian Science has no scientific method of investigation, recognizes no law governing the phenomena of mind or the "illusions" of the senses, and yet proceeds with the utmost self-confidence in the enunciation of its dogmas, without recognizing either reason, science, or law in framing them. In other words, it repudiates all methods and means of acquiring knowledge, declares all consciousness as unreliable, and yet, in the face of this, asserts certain things to be facts, and reproaches us for not accepting them as such, when, according to their own principles, they have no means of knowing anything whatever with certainty. Could anything be more unscientific than this? Yet this is the only method of Christian Science.

But we go still farther to point out that Christian Science is not only unscientific in its methods but it is absolutely destruc-

tive of all science, even of Christian Science itself. According to the first principles of Christian Science there can be no science, not even Christian Science. Every known science goes down before its sweeping dogmas. Let us look again at its fundamental principle as contained in Mrs. Eddy's assertions, "The five senses are five personal lies," and matter is but "a mortal illusion." This assertion strikes out at once from the field of human learning every branch of physical science. Natural philosophy goes out at the bottom. If "there is no matter," then of course all the "properties of matter" are insane illusions of the fancy. Extension, weight, inertia, mobility, porosity, expansibility, tenacity, brittleness, and malleability are but childish fancies or idle dreams. Attraction, electricity, magnetism, light, sound, and heat are but different forms of error, nothing more. Our public schools are gigantic swindles, aiding in the propagation of these popular illusions and childish errors. Chemistry also goes down with natural philosophy. All the boasted experiments of chemistry are but forms of "mortal error," since, there being no matter, there can be no chemical properties of that which is only mind. Geometry is an idle dream, because there are no dimensions nor forms to that which is not. Geology is no longer entitled to the name of a science. We vainly thought it revealed to us the story of the rocks. But this is all an idle fancy, since "rock" is but a name for hardened matter, which, according to Christian Science, has no existence save in human fancy. There are no rocks, no mountains, no seas, no fossils, no bodies to be fossilized in the bosom of mother earth; yea, and no mother earth with any bosom to enfold a helpless offspring in. Astronomy, that splendid dream of the stars, is also but a dream, an illusion of the senses. There is no matter; so those wheeling worlds and sparkling orbs are but fancied sparks flitting before the eye of a deluded fancy. They are but mental fireflies that flit across the empty spaces of the human brain. Pardon us—there is no brain, since brain is a form of matter; we should rather have said, the human fancy. Anatomy is no longer a science, since bones are said to be chiefly lime, flesh and blood but chemical compounds, and all that implies matter. Now, since matter does not exist, it is the height

of folly to cram the minds of youth with "mortal errors" regarding arms and bones and muscles and hair and stomachs and livers and lungs. Of course, there being no matter, there is no such thing as the circulation of the blood, or the rupture of blood vessels, or fracture of bone, or dislocation of joints, or nerves, or muscles, or pains. Physiology likewise shares the fate of all the natural sciences. Hygiene is a humbug. Why should anyone burden himself with rules of diet or exercise or cleanliness when all these things are but "the belief of error." Why scrub and bathe and house-clean when dirt that has been supposed to be the very essence of matter is now discovered to be but the embodiment of error? Thus we may pass through the whole category of the natural sciences, and every one of them passes away from the field of human knowledge before the destructive sweep of the first principle of Christian Science—"There is no matter." Human thought, like Noah's dove, flits hopelessly over the bosom of infinite chaos, but finds no resting place for the soles of her feet. Thus Christian Science with a single stroke wipes out all the scientific progress of the ages, and sets the world back to the dark days of ancient pantheism and superstition. Incredible as this may seem, there is no other rational and logical conclusion that can be drawn from the fundamental principles on which Christian Science is built. What stupendous ignorance must that be which cannot see the fallacy of trying to build a science on a foundation which necessarily makes every science impossible! Yet such is the irrational and illogical predicaments of everyone who accepts Christian Science on the principles laid down by Mrs. Eddy, the prophetess and founder of this absurd and self-contradictory system.

But it is not only destructive of all the natural sciences, for, while it claims to be a mental science, it is itself, in its first principles, destructive of all psychological science as well. It wipes out at a single stroke the only foundation on which any psychology can be built—consciousness. Its repudiation of the evidence and facts of consciousness, or, in other words, of the reliability of consciousness, makes all psychology impossible; for, if we are not sure of what we seem to be conscious of, then we are not sure of anything, since this is the only

means nature has provided by which we may know our experience of our internal states or our sensations of external objects. In short, consciousness, is the only means by which the mind grasps the knowledge of anything within or without. When Christian Science repudiates the reality of pain or suffering it rejects the evidence and reliability of consciousness. When it rejects consciousness, then there is nothing left to be known, not even Christian Science; for if consciousness is not reliable men are not sure of anything, not even of their thinking. To reject the facts of consciousness, and yet to assert anything to be fact, is the height of absurdity. If the consciousness of pain is an illusion, then may not the supposed consciousness of one's reasonings also be an illusion? Mind itself becomes an uncertain commodity, as well as matter. If matter is unreal and consciousness an illusion, then may not mind also be an illusion, a mere dream? But, alas! how shall we know that we even dream if our consciousness is not to be relied upon?

Yet Christian Science does not stop with the annihilation of all natural and mental science, but goes still further in its destructive sweep and tears away the foundation of all ethical science as well. "There is no evil, all is God, and all is good," is the declaration of this pretentious science. If there is no evil, natural or moral, in the world, then the distinctions on which ethical science is built are wiped out. Without these distinctions there are, and can be, no ethics. Christian Science is the revival of the pantheism of ancient Brahmanism, pure and simple. The ancient Brahman said: "There is but one Being, no second. . . . I cannot tell what Brahma is; I can only say that he is; he who would know Brahma must turn away from all that the senses perceive and think only of an existence that is like pure void space, without division or distinction, quality or dimension." Mrs. Eddy says: "'Souls' or 'spirits' is as improper as the term 'gods.' Soul or spirit signifies deity, and nothing else. There is no finite soul or spirit. These terms mean only one existence, and cannot be rendered in the plural." God and man, or mind, are one. There cannot be two principles, one good and the other evil, else there would be two gods. Thus Christian Science, like ancient

Brahmanism, banishes the distinction between good and evil. This is the logical conclusion or result of the premises laid down, that "there is no matter; all is mind, all is spirit, all is God." Hear Mrs. Eddy in her directions for healing: "Explain to your patients . . . that the conquest over sickness, as well as over sin, depends on mentally destroying all beliefs in these errors." Again, "Turn his gaze from the false evidence of his senses. Tell him he suffers only as the insane suffer, from a mere belief." So sickness and sin are, both alike, "errors of the mortal mind," according to Mrs. Eddy and Christian Science teaching. This is quite logical on the premises laid down, in fact, the only logical conclusion attainable from them. This fact is forcibly set forth by President John Caird in his lectures on "Ancient Religions." He says, "A religion which regards God as the unknown incomprehensible substance of the finite can take no account of distinctions in the finite." He says, farther, that whatever the Brahmanic philosopher might fancy by a process of abstraction, the popular mind would conclude that God "is the Being or substance who manifests himself alike in the mean and the great, the vile, obscene, and deformed, and the noble and beautiful and pure." This proved to be the practical working of Brahmanism. It accepted all things as alike—God. Fatalism, caste barriers, petrified social divisions, and retarded progress followed as natural results of this teaching. And why not? For if "all is God and all is good" there is no ground for moral distinctions, and therefore no foundation for an ethical science to build on. So Christian Science leaves no foundation for moral science whatever, and therefore is not a moral science itself.

But is that all? No; for before it go down all the foundations of judicial science also. The science of judicial government, like all other sciences, is swept away by the destructive tenets of this so-called science. If there is no evil in the world, then there is no sin, for sin is evil, unless we accept the theory that sin is a necessary part of the divine plan in creation and redemption. And to accept that proposition is again to destroy the reality of sin as sin; for if what we call sin is a necessary part of the divine plan, then sin itself is good, for that which

is necessary to the eternal good cannot be regarded as sin or evil. Besides, a necessary act incurs no blame. If, therefore, there is no sin or evil in the world, then all judicial government and means for the punishment of vice or the rewarding of virtue is a gigantic farce. Why maintain a governmental judiciary at great expense if there is no moral evil, or moral distinctions in the actions of men? If the fundamental principles of Christian Science are correct, then all judiciary proceedings against supposed criminals are the most absurd nonsense conceivable. What folly, for instance, to proceed to punish a man for theft when theft is a thing impossible, since there is nothing real for a man to steal! All that he sees and covets are but the images of his deluded fancy! "There is no matter, all is mind, all is spirit." How ridiculous, in short, the Ten Commandments, or at least those of them which relate to theft and covetousness, when there is nothing either to steal, kill, or covet! And there is not, if there is no matter. How cruel and silly even to punish a man for murder, since, according to Christian Science, there is no death! And yet this is one of the fundamental tenets of Christian Science, as may be witnessed at any funeral conducted under the supervision of these strange people. We know of nothing more incongruous or more absurdly contradictory than the conduct of a certain Christian Science doctoress whom we knew, who stood over the earthly remains of her departed husband—or, rather, "the departed fancy of her mortal mind"—and peacefully and solemnly declared that "there is no death;" and who then, after buying an expensive imaginary casket in which to place away in imaginary earth the imaginary body of her imaginary husband, went to the marble dealer and farther invested a large amount in an imaginary granite monument to place over that imaginary grave of the imaginary object of her "mortal hopes" and errors! Alas, for the ignorance and blindness that can accept all these self-contradictory and self-destructive theories as science! The very term "science" with such an application becomes meaningless and ridiculous.

The term "Christian" in this connection becomes equally absurd. According to Christian Science there is not, and cannot be, any science at all; but, according to these same

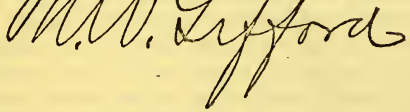
fundamental principles, there is and can be no Christianity. How any rational being can accept as Christian Science a system which is in every particular opposed to both Christianity and science is indeed a mystery. But such is the dilemma in which everyone is placed who accepts Mrs. Eddy's teachings. We shall now endeavor briefly to point out wherein Christian Science virtually destroys all Christianity as well as all science:

1. Sin and depravity, according to Christian Science, are not realities, but "belief of error." This conclusion is the logical deduction of the premises laid down, that "there is no evil, all is good, all is God." This whole theory rests on the assumption that "all is mind, and mind is God." There is no sickness, because God cannot be sick. So, on the same grounds they hold, logically enough, that since all is God, and God cannot be sin, therefore there is no sin. True, Mrs. Eddy says, "Man is not God, and God is not man." Yet she affirms and reaffirms that God is the only ego in the universe, and that "there is but one I, one mind or spirit, because there is but one God." That being the case, there can be no sin nor depravity, because God is the perfection of holiness. So Christianity goes out at the bottom; for, if there is no sin and depravity in the world, then the whole plan of salvation is also one of these "mortal errors" of which Mrs. Eddy so often speaks.

2. The doctrine of atonement also becomes an idle dream, a vain illusion, or rather delusion. There being no sin in the world, there can be no atonement for sin. Thus this so-called Christian Science is antichristian, because it knocks out the very foundation on which Christianity is built, namely, the doctrine of atonement for sin. Not only does it destroy the grounds of man's need of the atonement, but it destroys the very possibility of an atonement, and makes the sufferings and death of Christ a gigantic farce and delusion. Assuming first that Christ was God and that God cannot suffer, as they repeatedly declare, then the sufferings of Christ were all an idle dream of "mortal mind." Again, assuming their other proposition true, that "there is no matter," there is then no possibility of any such tragic death as is attributed to Christ. If it be true, Christ never had any body to be nailed to the cross:

there never was any wood to make a cross of; never any nails to pierce his hands; no spear to pierce his side; for all these things would imply the reality of matter. How then can any intelligent person accept the fundamental propositions of Christian Science and yet talk about the atonement of Christ and the sin of rejecting this new light, or rather new ~~teaching~~? For, if "there is no matter," there could be no Christ to die; if "there is no death," he made no atonement; and if "all is God," there never was any such thing as sin in the world.

3. But personal responsibility also goes down before this destructive system. There can be no responsibility if there is no personal freedom and no moral distinctions of good and evil. If "all is God and all is good" then there is nothing for which to hold man accountable. So this teaching sweeps away the doctrine of a future judgment and of future punishment for sin. Recognizing the logical sequence of these tenets while listening to a course of lectures on Christian Science some years ago, we asked the lecturer what she would do with the doctrine of future suffering of the wicked, if there were no sin and no suffering. The reply was that "if that doctrine was opposed to the truth it must take care of itself." What a sad dilemma must the votaries of such a system be in who attempt to teach both Christianity and science on a foundation that is at once destructive of all Christianity and all science, and according to which neither one can have any existence in rational thought!



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Last year we asked for a vote on the question of cutting or not cutting the leaves of the *Review*. The response was so small, not three hundred of our thousands of subscribers voting, and the result so indecisive as not to warrant us in making a departure from the long-established custom. Most of those who object to the proposed cutting do so on the ground that they bind their volumes and protest against our spoiling their property for that purpose. Looking over a long list of periodicals like the *Review* we find that the great majority of them come uncut. Nevertheless we still hold the question open and invite from those who have not responded an expression which may give us something more decisive than a closely balanced vote.

MODERN CRUSADING—FAR EASTERN CHANGES.

Morally perplexing, diplomatically confusing, full of possible perils, the relations of civilized Europe to the far East and Africa are pregnant with an interest almost romantic. The conquest of India by England began this great epic of modern history; the partition of China promises to make a more striking piece of the story of nations. At every movement in this march of the West upon the East there has been a chance that a return invasion may repeat the story of the Moslem avenging the bloodshed of the crusader. To confuse the situation Russia, more Eastern than Western, projects her vast bulk into every Asiatic situation, whether of conquest or of diplomacy, and even on the Nile counts as an influence to be reckoned up in the fate of Italian, French, or British colonies. Any morning we may read that Russia has interfered in some quarter of the field of conquest; and if ever this huge leviathan should move westward with a determined aim of conquest the march might be as perilous to central Europe as were the invasions of the Moslems.

These problems turn to simplicity because all Eastern and African questions have put on the economic uniform; opening

markets, highways, making places for traders and their wares, securing control of tea crops and ivory harvests, inducing semi-civilized or uncivilized peoples to consume the products of European mills—such pretensions are not mere pretexts, they are the largest reason for all this march and countermarch in the antipodal world. Hardly less potent is the desire of great banking houses to make large commissions upon loans to poor princes, to railways, to every kind of large enterprise, and the desire of thrifty people to invest their savings in bonds bearing a high interest. The whole situation and the entire campaign are financial and commercial. And this is the novelty of it all. Pizzaro and the rest wanted gold—wanted gold more greedily than our modern commercial travelers; but the commercial traveler, the banking house agent, and the promoter of railways and other "improvements," are not bloody and cruel men. They kill nobody, though they worry diplomats and create "tense situations."

The romance vanishes with the bloody sword of an adventurer torturing rude innocents to get revelations about gold or gems. It is a great game of hazard, perhaps, but it is mainly a bloodless game. The men in plain clothes who play it are more dangerous to the purses of investors than to the unsophisticated native, who at least gets the arts of Europe and learns how to live more expensively, if less happily; and to live more expensively is by many persons mistaken for the chief aim of life under the sun. It is not a romantic story like the career of Warren Hastings; but it is a story of the chief pursuit of the Western World—to make goods and to sell them, to secure contracts for large loans and to place the bonds. One hopeful prospect opens out from the diplomatically clouded and threatening future; it is not the interest of the trader to exterminate consumers, or of the money lender to destroy the throne for which he borrows. "His imperial majesty of China," or whatever be the lordly phrase, sounds well in a bond—nothing can be substituted that appeals so strongly to the imagination of the actual purchaser of bonds. Therefore the imperial majesty will survive; therefore the consumers of European goods will not lose their lives. In all this very modern episode there is only one serious peril—the peril of accident, of mischances, of misunderstandings. This danger grows less as the situation develops year by year. Men who know thoroughly that they are the agents of bankers and traders may be men of war professionally

and yet take care not to exalt the profession at the expense of the people who pay their salaries. Occasionally some rude warrior of the plains or forests may become troublesome; fanaticism may arm Afghanistan or African tribes. But the peril will be localized. The large campaign is so well defined that no array of warlike fleets, no mobilization of armies, can mean more than that this or that national representative—premier or president or czar—means that his principals shall have their fair share of the loans and the trade in China or elsewhere.

MRS. ELLEN H. SIMPSON.

It was no ordinary woman who at the end of a long life's large labors fell peacefully asleep in her Philadelphia home on Sunday morning, December 19, 1897. Any review of her life must follow the course of that other illustrious life with which, from her girlhood, hers was bound up.

In 1833 a frail-looking young man in feeble health who had engaged in the practice of medicine in the village of Cadiz, O., feeling called of God to become a physician of souls, entered the Pittsburg Conference and was assigned to St. Clairsville Circuit, which included his home. For the first two thirds of the year he attended, by agreement, to his doctor's office during the week, preaching on Sundays at Cadiz and at St. Clairsville. At the end of eight months he closed his office, took horse and saddle-bags, and gave himself wholly to the work of the circuit, preaching around among its thirty-three appointments. At the next Conference session he was appointed to Pittsburg, and arriving there lodged fatefully the first night in the house of James Verner, a prominent and influential layman. The shy young itinerant was not so full of his Sunday's sermons as not to notice that in the family was a daughter, Miss Ellen Holmes Verner. This matter he pondered in his heart, and the next year, on Tuesday, November 3, 1835, in that same house on Penn Street, at six o'clock in the evening, he was married to that young lady by Rev. Z. H. Costen. For bridal trip they took the steamboat *Beaver* on the Ohio early Wednesday morning, arriving in the afternoon at the home of his uncle, where his mother also was, on a bluff above the river near Wellsville. They returned on Friday in order that he might meet the Quarterly Conference at five o'clock on Saturday

morning. Matthew Simpson and his bride remained in her father's house until the end of that Conference year. He being then appointed to Williamsport, now Monongahela City, the young wife left the comfort and abundance in which she had been reared and went with him to find a feeble flock of poor people, a church heavily burdened with debt, and no house for the preacher. They rented for fifty dollars a year a one-story frame house with three rooms and a kitchen, and with their own young and eager hands joyously painted it and fitted it up as neatly and comfortably as they could.

They were there but a few months when he was elected professor of natural science in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., by which event his pastoral career was terminated. During their two years in Meadville they shifted several times from house to house.

In the latter part of 1838 he was chosen president of Asbury University at Greencastle, Ind., and they moved westward to cruder and more unsettled conditions. The State was comparatively new, scarcely beyond the log-cabin stage, with its prosperity yet to be dug up out of its fertile soil. Arriving in March, 1839, by a long journey over the muddiest and roughest of roads, they found a rude town of small one-story houses, with five hundred inhabitants, mostly settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, the place overcrowded with people from the fact that it was court week. The principal hotel, a log house, was full. Going to the next hostelry, Matthew Simpson found no place for his wife to sit down and rest herself and care for her baby except outside on the back porch. However, accommodations were finally secured for the night.

In Greencastle they lived as best they could for nine years, when his election as editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* took them to Cincinnati for four years. In 1852, on his election to the bishopric, Pittsburg became for the time their residence, until in 1859 he yielded to the desire of the Northwest and went to live in Evanston, accepting for the time the presidency of Garrett Biblical Institute. There they remained until 1863, when, choosing among a number of cities which competed to secure him, he decided upon Philadelphia, receiving as a gift from the generous laymen of that city the house No. 1809 Mount Vernon Street, which some of his friends in New York city furnished throughout and completely fitted up. From that house

he removed in 1882 to No. 1334 Arch Street, which has been the family residence until now. There the great, good, gentle bishop died less than three weeks after his last public words were heard by the General Conference of 1884 at its closing session; there his wife dwelt in almost worshipful widowhood over thirteen years, no sound being sweeter to her than the mention of his name, no vision more entrancing than to gaze upon his picture on the wall, and no persons on earth so dear to her as those who loved him most. There too, at last, she folded her busy, beneficent hands, closed her dim eyes, and softly ceased to breathe.

Mrs. Simpson was a woman to whom very many were greatly indebted for important services rendered and actual value received. Most of all, her husband owed her much. Some men are what their wives let them be; others are what they become in spite of their wives; while others are what their wives have helped them to be. To this last class Matthew Simpson belonged.

He owed much to her in his health. First and last he had many illnesses. At the beginning all physicians except one, a Hicksite Quaker, reputed to be an infidel, warned him that he entered on the ministry at the risk of his life. Marrying a man who was threatened with consumption, of which his sister had just died, she entered on itinerant life with the probable prospect of an early widowhood. While professor at Meadville he suffered with a severe cough, pains in side and chest, and other symptoms of pulmonary disease. At the age of thirty-two he writes that he has lived four years longer than he expected. While living in Greencastle he had fever and ague and afterward a long illness with typhoid fever. He resigned his college presidency there because broken down in health. While residing in Cincinnati, when the great epidemic of cholera raged which Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, then living at Lane Seminary, describes in her *Life*, he took as usual the prevalent disease. Mrs. Simpson remained with him and nursed him back to health, having refused to take her children and go into the country because he could not leave. His delicate health filled him with apprehension in beginning episcopal work, and in his first year as a bishop he writes, "I feel sometimes that I cannot bear the physical efforts I make, together with the mental excitement under which I suffer, but must soon wear down to the grave." Again, the next year, "My labors in the

pulpit are beginning to affect my eyes; too much blood, I think, flows to my head." Especially susceptible to malaria, in crossing the Isthmus of Panama, as in Indiana, he takes the fever; and again while on a visit to the Orient, so that in Athens and in the Holy Land he was apparently dying. For a year after his return from that tour he was ill at his home in Pittsburg, and his friends were often expecting to hear of his death. Two years later, in 1860, he looks forward to "a speedy arrival at the end of life's voyage." Through all the years of many sicknesses this capable woman nursed and watched over him with a tender devotion and skill which did much to lengthen his days. Again and again he owed his life to her. She was determined he should live, and succeeded in carrying him on into his seventy-fourth year. At the General Conference in Philadelphia, when Matthew Simpson came feebly into the closing session to speak his farewell words to the Church, she kept at his side to watch over her sick bishop and take care of him.

He owed much to her in his home; first of all in its wise and careful management.

Leaving the comparative affluence of her father's house, she had no home in comfortable conditions until they had been married a dozen years and he was settled in his Cincinnati editorship. In Indiana they "roughed it." Society was in a primitive state. The women came to church in sunbonnets. Everything was to make. The young president, barely twenty-seven, had been called there to create a college. He started it with eleven students. The struggle for life was severe. There was no money to pay president or professors. During his long and frequent absences, traveling all over the State on horseback, fording creeks and rivers, wearing homespun garments like the farmers, preaching and lecturing to plant the love of learning among the people and raise money for the college, his wife was at Greencastle caring for their little children as best she could under conditions of which we have a glimpse in a letter written to President Simpson by Edward R. Ames, then presiding elder in the Indiana Conference: "I think on the whole we shall get twelve hundred dollars for the college, if you don't all starve to death before we can collect it." Great was the enthusiasm roused throughout the thinly settled State for education, and heroic were the gifts made by the people out of their poverty. Cynthiana Circuit subscribed more for the university than it did for its own wants.

(The institution, so founded by the sacrifices of poor settlers, makes by its noble history an irresistible appeal to the honor and conscience of the now comparatively wealthy Methodism of Indiana for its perpetual support and enlargement. For it to go down would be proof that the fathers left no descendants like themselves.) In the hardships of those early beginnings Mrs. Simpson bore her share, left alone much of the time with the burden of the family, now and then compelled by sheer necessity to pick up her children and travel across two States to find refuge in her father's house in Pittsburg, when she received from him such messages as this: "Take good care of yourself and the children. Keep your spirits up. Providence may yet intend to give us a happy life." During most of their married life the management of the home and the care of rearing seven children fell upon her and not upon him.

His home owed much to her, next, in its hospitalities, social amenities, and benevolences, which she made bountiful and beautiful. No cold, selfish, inert, or apathetic woman was she, but with warm impulses reaching out kindly and helpful hands to many. At Greencastle she bestowed upon sick students special sympathy and attention, with her own hands preparing suitable nourishment and carrying it to them. Some said she saved their lives. At Evanston her home was wide open with its cordial and interested welcome to students and faculty. And in Philadelphia, that goodly city of hospitable homes, for twenty years no Methodist house was more generous and impartial in its hospitality than the home of the resident bishop. This was largely due to the enterpise, kind-heartedness, and social tact of the mistress of that home. She sent out and compelled people to come in. There were gatherings of ministry and of laity, of missionaries and of students, of residents and of strangers; and Mrs. Simpson was never more radiant and charming than when standing at her husband's side to welcome and bless them all. The home which the people of Philadelphia had given was always at the people's service, used for their gratification and benefit. Whether any other episcopal residence in Methodism was ever so much a resort and center of attraction is doubtful. It is noticeable that in an exceptional way, almost from the beginning of his active life, Matthew Simpson was thrown into contact and acquaintance with a great number of men who were or became conspicuous in public life, civil or military, governors

of States, members of Congress, judges, cabinet ministers, foreign ambassadors, or generals. His former students at Meadville and Greencastle were scattered over the country, many of them in influential positions. This in part explains the wide influence he exerted in public and national affairs, and also helps to explain how it came to pass that so many persons of distinction from all over the land visited his home. They knew him, and his ability commanded their admiration, his purity commanded their reverence, his sweetness commanded their affection. But also it is only just to add that the woman who presided in that home entered heart and soul into his friendships and made it delightful to his visitors, loving them because they loved him. And so they came freely and frequently from Boston and New York, from Baltimore and Washington and Pittsburg and the West, a brilliant and worthy list of guests. In that house General and Mrs. Grant, and also President and Mrs. Hayes, were visitors. Mrs. Simpson made her bishop's home glow with light and love, so that it was worthy of the great Church he served and comported fitly with the dignity of his distinguished public life. And everywhere with simple, unaffected manners and cordial spirit she moved in gracious dignity, at ease herself and making others so, whether in plain and humble circles or in the stately surroundings and society of the Mansion House, as guest, with her husband and daughters, for six weeks, of Sir William McArthur, Lord Mayor of London, meeting there not a few of the nobility and other dignitaries of England in State or Church.

In his success and advancement also Bishop Simpson owed something to his wife. She was more ambitious for him and jealous of his rights than he ever dared or cared to be for himself. His mind was not on his rights, but on his duties. Many times her courage urged him forward when his native modesty, amounting in his earlier years to painful and awkward diffidence, would have kept him back. Appreciating with wifely pride the extraordinary abilities of her gifted husband, and with knowledge of his worthiness and a well-founded faith in his high possibilities, she was anxious that everywhere he should receive due recognition and take his proper prominence, certain that he would nobly justify whatever advancement might be given him. In all his work she was a loyal, vigilant, and skillful promoter of his utmost possible success.

The Church owes much to Mrs. Simpson for watching over

the bishop, whose inspiring leadership and assiduous labor meant so much to the denomination and the wide kingdom of God on earth; for relieving him of family cares, so that his whole time and energy were released for the service of the Church; for bearing cheerfully her share of the self-denial involved in his many prolonged and distant absences; for sweetening, warming, and solidifying the social life of the churches in the communities where she lived; for zealously devoting her extraordinary energies to the welfare and progress of Methodism; and especially for her judicious, sympathetic, and eminently successful efforts in behalf of certain great and necessary charities of the Church. Through thirty years in the city of Philadelphia she was a growing power for good, her usefulness increasing with her years and her steady enthusiasm ceasing only with her life. Overwhelming sorrow had the effect to intensify her pity for the sorrows of mankind; and at last, when the fires of her bodily life sank low, gray ashes gathering on the top, her great heart still burned like a furnace with ardent love for the homeless and the friendless.

The range and value of her public usefulness may be indicated by the following brief mention of particulars. She was appointed one of the Ladies' Executive Committee of thirteen, representing the original colonies, in the National Centennial Exhibition, in 1876, and devised the plan for obtaining sketches and pictures of all public charities in America and Europe originated and supported by women. Over eight hundred associations responded, and this collection representing woman's work is still preserved in the Permanent Exhibition. She aided in organizing and was president of the first Bible Readers' Society in Philadelphia; organized the Society of Silk Culture, but declined its presidency; organized the Woman's Auxiliary of the Methodist Hospital, and was its first president; organized the temporary Home for the Poor in West Philadelphia; assisted in organizing the Home for the Aged in Camden; actively aided the Indian Association, and had some of its meetings at her home; was a vice president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and of the Woman's Foreign and Home Missionary Societies; interested herself in the recently established girls' school, the first meeting in its behalf being held at her house; was a trustee of the American University, and a director of the Museum of Art. These, however, were but minor parts of her public work. The Methodist Home for the Aged and the Orphanage, two grand institutions

now nobly housed and provided for, stand as her chief monuments. Of the Home she was president for over twenty-five years, having been elected at one of its earliest meetings, held at the home of Colonel Alexander Cummings.

Her executive ability had play in several large fairs which she superintended for the Home, and which yielded an average of thirty thousand dollars each. When one of these fairs was in progress the Russian Grand Duke Alexis was in Philadelphia for a brief visit. Mrs. Simpson conceived that she could utilize him to advertise and help the fair, if his attendance could be secured and announced. General Meade had charge of all his arrangements. Making her request to the general, she was promptly and decisively repulsed and told that such a thing was quite impossible, if not absurd; the grand duke would feel no interest in, and could not spend his time attending, a denominational fair. But the general found himself outranked; he could not shake her off: she conquered the conqueror of Gettysburg; and an enormous crowd went to the fair to see the grand duke moving about the hall and making his purchases from table to table, Bishop Simpson afterward, on behalf of the lady managers, thanking him for his interest and presenting him with the handsomest article in the fair, nine hundred dollars having been raised to buy it for that purpose. This incident fairly illustrates the ingenuity, enterprise, skill, and amiable, yet victorious, persistence of this highly capable woman.

Of the orphanage she was planner, founder, and, until her death, president. Hers was the first subscription to it. Through her Colonel Joseph M. Bennett, not a Methodist, became interested in the enterprise, and in 1881 gave it a house and lot. Later he gave twenty-five acres of very valuable land near Fairmount Park, on which now stands the large and handsome orphanage building accommodating two hundred. In 1888 the erection of the building came to a halt because of an empty treasury. Thirty thousand dollars was needed to finish and furnish it. Colonel Bennett, learning of the situation, told Mrs. Simpson that if four weeks later she would bring to the bank at 9 A. M. the sum of ten thousand dollars, raised from the churches, he would add twenty thousand to that amount to finish the building. At the time appointed she, with others, met him at the bank of which Robert E. Pattison was president, and informed him that the fulfillment of his offer was due, as the ten thousand dollars was

already on deposit in the bank. He was better than his word, for he took out of his pocket a signed check for twenty-five thousand dollars for the institution, to which he had previously given ten thousand dollars in cash, besides eighty thousand dollars' worth of property. Years later he added two wings and a laundry at a cost of thirty-seven thousand dollars. This same generous benefactor, learning, a year or two ago, that the Home for the Aged needed enlargement, and more ground than it could get in the location where it has stood for thirty years, bought eight acres of choice land adjoining the orphanage property, with a view to the transfer of the Home to that more eligible spot. All this, which was chiefly due to her influence and sagacity, brought unutterable joy to Mrs. Simpson, and in June, 1897, she spent much of her failing strength in completing the legal transfer of the new tract of ground for the Home, unwilling to go away to her seaside cottage for the summer until all was done. It proved to be almost her last work for her beloved public charities. The magnificent tasks of her life were nobly finished. And, as a result, in a short time, in one of the choicest locations, side by side, in one ample estate, will stand two of the grandest institutions in all Methodism, objects of grateful pride to Philadelphia, fountains of Christlike benevolence to suffering humanity, and lasting monuments to the rare skill and devotion of a strong, great-hearted, courageous, patient, and laborious woman. Sheltering forlorn age and forsaken childhood, they also shelter her memory from the touch of oblivion.

Her public work, only a part of which can be here referred to, did not exhaust her heart. Her private charities were numerous and constant. The lanes and alleys, where the needy suffer, were familiar with her face. And neglecting no interests of her family, she kept a firm hold on a wide circle of personal friends, putting into her friendships the same decided strength of character as marked her work.

To this loyal and capable woman it was due that the home to which, during forty-nine years of wedded life, Matthew Simpson returned from his journeys was full of peace and order, sweetness and light, glimpses of which we have in his letters. To her he wrote from the house of Mayor James Harper, in New York city, while a delegate in the General Conference of 1844, concerning the ladies he met: "Some are handsome, some ugly; many amiable and accomplished; but taking all in all, 'I

wad na gie my ain wife for ony wife I see.' " To her he wrote on November 3, 1857, in a letter from Beyrout, Syria: "Twenty-two years ago this evening—yes, this very evening! Do you remember the little group which met in that parlor in Penn Street, and do you remember the neat young woman, with the flush of health upon her cheek, who stood trembling beside a tall, awkward-looking young man? . . . And now here in Beyrout sits that same lank man, not now young, and sends across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic the greetings of unchanged, undying affection to the same woman, not now quite so roseate, but more thoughtful and even more worthy to be loved." In 1871, thirty-six years after their marriage, he wrote to her: "I saw in Monongahela City, the other day, the small house in which you and I commenced housekeeping. It is the same little building, but looks smaller, as larger houses are around it. How many memories came clustering around me as I looked upon this scene of our earlier labors and love, and how short seems the interval between those days and these! But years have intervened—years of sunlight and of shade—years of great joy and of deep sorrow. I am older. I would fain hope that I am wiser and better, but how little we learn, as we should learn, of life's great mission and of life's great duties!"

When her husband's life came to its earthly end she bowed her head for a time in inconsolable grief. But, after a while, grieving no less sorrowfully, she lifted herself up and said, like the strong, godly woman she was, "I will go again to my orphanage work, and find what relief I can in comforting the grief of others, and binding up their broken hearts." And in the strength of that high resolve she rose and went forth to crown her long life with its most beautiful, perhaps its most serviceable and fruitful, decade.

In the white marble mausoleum in West Laurel Hill Cemetery, above the Schuylkill, now rest together the bodies of husband and wife; while they dwell forever in that home above, of which he wrote to her across the sea from Dresden on September 25, 1857: "In the graveyard of the Moravians, which I visited to-day, instead of the inscription 'Dead,' were the words 'Gone Home' such a day. It was quite touching. 'A home in heaven!' How sweet to think, to know there is a world of bliss with a home in it, a quiet resting place for the soul when life's journey is over!"

THE ARENA.

A NEGLECTED SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATION.

Every preacher realizes to a greater or less degree the value of pointed illustrations in the construction of sermons. He must have observed how extensively Christ used them in setting forth the great truths of his kingdom. As a rule, the most successful preachers are the men with greatest ability in the use of illustrations, whether for argument or elucidation. They draw upon every conceivable source, and find striking analogies in things the average preacher passes by as useless.

Every young Methodist preacher is required to study and master Broadus on *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*. In that work the author ably discusses the various sources of illustration, but passes by without a word one of the most prolific fields—the field of missionary enterprise. The average person who hears two sermons a day will testify that this field is seldom drawn upon by preachers. Such neglect is a loss, not only to the maker of sermons, but to those who hear.

Some of the many advantages to be gained by frequent illustration from missionary enterprises may be briefly stated :

1. The richness of the field. In the various ages and countries there is the same unregenerate human nature, to be changed by the same Gospel with practically the same operations and results. Prejudice has to be overcome, opposition broken down, the savage heart tamed, human nature regenerated, and human institutions revolutionized. The experiences of those who yield to the Gospel are much the same. Nevertheless its triumph in heathen lands is attended with incidents so numerous and thrilling that missionary intelligence often reads like a romance—incidents which most effectively illustrate the great Gospel truths.

2. These illustrations are easily acquired. A great volume of missionary literature is now coming from the press of the country. This is to be found in the religious weeklies, missionary magazines, tracts, and books. Even the daily papers publish frequent articles and incidents from mission lands. With a few new books each year, such as Pierson's *Miracles of Missions*, and with two or three good monthly missionary magazines coming to his study, the preacher has before him a mass of incidents from which he can cull many that are interesting, powerful, and pointed in illustrating his themes.

3. Their appropriateness. The first essential of a good illustration is that it be adapted to the point under discussion. There is little use for illustrations which are purely ornamental. In the great struggle between sin and righteousness, in lands where the true light is beginning to shine, not only the missionary, but his converts have daily experiences which fulfill and magnify the word of God. Such experiences are real—

not imaginary—and when applied to the great truths of the Gospel bring them vividly to light. Surely the preacher can here find a vast fund of incidents well adapted to his purpose.

4. Their freshness. The latest recorded incidents of missionary enterprise contain illustrations which, if properly expressed and applied, will seldom fail to take hold even on the dullest of hearers. The fact that they come fresh from the battlefield where Christianity is meeting and conquering heathenism serves to intensify their usefulness. Many illustrations taken from history, science, and everyday experience fail because of their frequent use by different preachers. Least of all do intelligent congregations care for their preachers to repeat *ad infinitum* the stock illustrations of bulky homiletic commentaries, books of cut-and-dried illustrations, and other cheap arrangements for lazy or thick-headed ministers. Such illustrations lose their charm for the preacher himself, because there is no iota of originality in their use. Some one else has not only discovered the resemblance, but made the application.

5. The frequent use of incidents and anecdotes from mission lands requires the wide reading of missionary literature by the preacher. This in itself is great gain. Before he can lead his people to an intelligent conception and liberal support of our work in foreign lands he must himself be thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit. His love for the cause must be strong enough to lead him to prefer a deficiency in his salary rather than in the missionary collection. This love he cannot have without keeping constantly in touch with the workers in the field.

6. We believe that the frequent use of illustrations from this source are the best possible method of keeping the subject constantly before the people, without incurring the charge of "hobby-riding." It is the habit of many preachers to attempt to enlighten their people on this subject by preaching one sermon annually—one as old as their ministry—just before taking the collection. As regards this subject they then remain practically silent for the rest of the year. Of course the people give according to their knowledge, and the offering is all too often no credit to the Church. Just now we are trying to pay a heavy missionary debt, and many plans are proposed. Such a crisis would not be upon us were we as preachers more faithful in giving the people missionary intelligence and unselfishly pointing out to them the path of duty.

Brownsville, Pa. HARRY M. CHALFANT.

"THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT."

THE article on this subject, in the November *Review*, attacks both the "satisfaction" and "governmental" theories of atonement, and substitutes one somewhat similar to the "moral influence" theory of Unitarians. The writer of the article holds that atonement consists in a "readjustment of man," (1) by convincing man of his sinfulness in causing the crucifixion, and (2) by presenting the "possibilities for him in divine grace." And is this all we have left of the great doctrine of

atonement? Certainly it is something vitally different from that preached by the fathers and founders of Methodism and cherished by millions of evangelical Christians on both sides of the sea. The commonly received idea of redemption, though marked with some difficulties, is in general most reasonable and acceptable to the human mind. Penitents receive it joyfully. Believers sing and shout over it. Preachers find that it works well. It walks into men's hearts as though it had the right of way.

It may be doubted if the death of Jesus is "the indisputable evidence of the depravity of the race." Undoubtedly those who slew him were depraved, but even they did it "through ignorance," and would not have done it had they known he was "the Lord of glory." Cain's murder of Abel was a stronger proof of depravity; but even that would not prove the depravity of the race. As to man's total depravity, it is nonexistent, save in the imagination of the most cast-iron Calvinist. It is impossible among finite creatures, and is nowhere taught in the Scriptures. The general depravity of man is an accepted doctrine; but the crucifixion proves neither total depravity nor its universal prevalence.

As to the second object of the atonement, presented by this writer, it looks to the redemption of the race through "the life and teaching of Jesus Christ." Life is "renovated by Christ's life, as symbolized by his blood," says the writer. No, not Christ's life, lovely as it was, but Christ's death, redeems. Shed blood is nowhere used as a symbol of life. It is the symbol of redemption and cleansing from guilt. When John called Jesus "the Lamb of God" every Jew knew he referred to the sacrificial lamb daily slain at the temple. When Jesus said he came "to give his life a ransom" no one thought of anything else than the redemption of "many" by the offering of one. When he spoke of being "lifted up" we are told he signified by "what death he should die." That was to "draw all men" unto him. Redemption by "shedding of blood" is the clear teaching of the New Testament.

Philadelphia, Pa. T. M. Griffith.

"IS THE MILLENNIUM AN EVOLUTION?"

The article in the November *Review* by Dr. Rawlins on the above subject prompts this word of reply. It is perhaps a question which the learned world knows less about—the theological doctrine of the millennium or the scientific hypothesis of evolution. We have no theory to ventilate, but desire to protest against such materialistic interpretation of difficult apocalyptic passages of Scripture. The tone of Dr. Rawlins's article reminds one of the spirit of Justin Martyr, who said, "I and others who are right-minded Christians on all points are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged," etc.

Of the fact of a millennium we can have no doubt, but of its nature and manifestation let us more humbly say, "Now I know in part." Dr. Rawlins himself humbly acknowledges, "No one may describe the mil-

lennium before it comes to pass." He would have seemed more consistent if he had left the remainder of the paragraph unwritten. Let him reflect with Justin that "many of a pure and devout Christian mind are not of the same opinion" as he. If we must have some definite interpretation of the millennial prophecies commend us to the view expressed by Dr. Terry in his *Hermeneutics* (pp. 374–378), which has been handed down to the Church from Augustine, that the millennium began with the death and resurrection of Christ, when "the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection," and that the end of the millennium is not yet come, but is hastening on with the marvelous triumphs of the Gospel in our own day.

It was, perhaps, one of the editorial departments of the *Review* that recently declared, "Eschatalogy is at once the most fascinating and most profitless branch of theological science." For myself I find that, as some one has well said, "Doing the will of God leaves me no time for disputing about his plans." Christians may learn a lesson from the old saying of the rabbis, "If every Jew would perfectly observe the law for a single day the Messiah would come." Brothers, let us by obedient faith in Christ hasten on the coming or the consummation of the millennial kingdom. God speed the day! F. H. CHAMBERLIN.

La Conner, Wash.

THE DIVINE CHARACTER.

MAN is not asked to become reconciled to a God who is an unintelligent force or a tyrant, but a Being of character. Take character out of the universe, and all beings will be reduced to devils in their depravity and anarchy of life. Given one being in the universe with character, human or divine, and the reign of law begins. Character and law are correlative. Law was not first and then character, but character first. The higher the grade of character, the farther-reaching the law. Given an infinitely holy character, and there must be an infinitely holy law.

Now, since man is a transgressor of the moral law, he cannot be saved by trying to keep it without a proper recognition of the character behind the law from which that law emanates; for the law is not itself a sufficient means to salvation, but only shows the necessity of it. It is a "schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ." In other words, the divine character behind all moral law became flesh. That flesh was Christ. The religious history of man shows that God was long regarded as anything else than love. Christ is God, advancing toward man through the barriers of ignorance and misconception. There can be no true reconciliation until the true nature of each is recognized by man. Christ revealed God, not outside of himself, but in himself. Hence he must be accepted to know God; and whoever thus knows God has a growing recognition of that holy character once incarnate to confirm the law.

Horicon, Wis. MORITZ L. EVERSZ.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SUBJECTIVE STUDIES FOR THE MINISTER.

THE minister has to do with the deepest problems of life, and therefore should understand thoroughly the springs of human action. He should be familiar with the studies which concern the essence of things. This will at once lead him into the realms of psychology and philosophy. The highest forms of ethical study need a basis of metaphysics. The German university in prescribing the courses for a degree requires that one of the studies must be in the line of philosophy, showing that in the view of this scholastic nation all departments should be related to philosophy as their basis. It is for this reason among others that theological seminaries lay emphasis on theology, both systematic and biblical, and that back of theology stands, as preliminary, the subjects which we have mentioned.

If we turn from this view of things to the practice obtaining at the present time one would be inclined to think the opposite was the true method. Our studies are mainly objective. It is the age of blackboards and external appliances and objective knowledge. We have to do with what are called facts. Hence it is that on the subject of the Bible men study the dates of the several books, the authors, the text, and the student becomes a depository of facts and figures. He knows a great many things, and knows them accurately. This in a measure is proper. It is well to know who wrote the Book of Genesis ; it is proper to study the authorship of Isaiah. But when we have decided these questions to our satisfaction we do not know the Book of Genesis nor the Book of Isaiah. What needs to be known, especially by the minister, is what those authors have written, what principles they have inculcated, what springs of action they disclose, what life they exhibit. In other words, he must go to the roots of truth.

In general, we may say that he should be acquainted with biblical theology, as distinguished from biblical facts. It is essential that one know the date of Christ's birth, the number of years in Christ's life, his death and the certainty of his resurrection. These are the objective facts without which we would not give the same attention to what he states ; but of what importance would these be if we did not study his life and his teaching, if his parables and miracles are not regarded as setting forth vital and essential truth for the world ? "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." A young minister may be able to answer the questions concerning the facts of all the books of the Old and New Testament Scriptures and yet be powerless to make those books effective, unless he has given time to the substance of truth which they contain. It is becoming, therefore, that we study the properties of things ; yet it

seems that these external properties have been invested with undue importance at the present time. The objective has taken the place of the subjective. The shell has been substituted for the essence. The husks are often offered to the people instead of the solid grain.

It is not the thought of this paper to undervalue the objective and external element in the studies of the minister. The facts of the Bible, of science, of literature, of art are not only interesting but necessary and profitable; yet they should have far less of the preacher's time than the deep underlying principles and thoughts with which they are associated. If one has observed the tendencies of our preaching he will have found that the preaching of a series of facts, however grand, does not turn men to righteousness so completely as when the great underlying principles are argued and urged and the objective element is employed for illustration and not as the staple of preaching. If a minister of the Gospel is preaching on the text, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," he will not meet the demands of the text by giving a simple statement of the time when God's Son was given, and by proving the exact date of the birth of Christ and the period of his crucifixion. The real thought of the text will not be met until he has set forth the wonderful love of God in giving One who was his own Son for the redemption of the world. It is love manifested in the sacrifice of God which was manifested in the sacrifice of his Son. The apostles desired to know Christ in "the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings." If we will penetrate deeply by the power of the Spirit the profound mysteries of redemption we will find jewels of rarest beauty and richness with which to enrich those who wait upon our ministry.

A SUGGESTIVE ECCLESIASTICAL EVENT.

THE recent resignation of the Rev. Dr. John Hall, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, in the city of New York, with its outcome is an event of more than passing importance. The history of the matter, briefly stated, is that thirty years ago Dr. Hall was called to the pastorate of one of the most important churches in the metropolis of the nation. During all that period his pastorate has been eminently successful, perhaps none more so. So far as appearances would go, he is still in the vigor of his intellectual and physical strength. Previous to this pastorate he had been for eighteen years a minister of the Gospel, so that at the time of his resignation he had completed forty-eight years of ministerial service—a length of service which in his opinion justified his laying down the cares of so large and important a congregation. His resignation was tendered and was in due time accepted by the session of the church, and a large support was voted to him as pastor *emeritus*. The statements of the press indicate that his resignation aroused profound regret throughout the congregation, so much so that he was at

once requested to withdraw it and to continue his pastoral service. Although it is stated that some members of the session preferred that the acceptance of the resignation should be final, the expression asking him to remain was so practically unanimous that in accordance therewith he has withdrawn his resignation and will continue pastor of the church. It is to be noted, however, that, previous to his resignation, some thought it would be well for him to have an associate pastor who could relieve him of a part of the burdens of his pastorate, of which suggestion he had not thought well. In the resumption of his pastorate he has evidently yielded that point, as indicated in the terms in which he has withdrawn his resignation.

The matter of interest for the "Itinerants' Club" is the forcible request of a large congregation that a man who had been for forty-eight years a minister should continue his pastorate among them. This is so utterly out of harmony with ordinary ideas and methods that it is proper for us to seek the cause. The more usual method would be for the congregation to accept the resignation at once; to pass a series of resolutions expressing a high appreciation of the great service which he had rendered to the church, and of regret that he felt compelled to lay down the duties of his office, and at once to proceed to call a man fresh from a theological seminary or who has only recently entered into the pastoral office. We are not discussing the wisdom or unwisdom of this course; but it is an important fact that a man who had apparently reached the summit of his ministry and who had been a minister for well-nigh fifty years is asked by one of the largest, wealthiest, and most intelligent congregations in the city of New York to resume his pastorate. What can be the cause?

It is evident that Dr. Hall has endeared himself to his church, so that they feel unwilling to hear a new voice in the place where they have so long listened to him. His personality will account for it, in part. A man of great dignity of character, simplicity of life, and singleness of purpose, he is such a person as we assume would attach himself to the congregation, and the congregation to him. Whatever his utterances they could not be separated from the noble personality by which they were expressed; and this, connected with piety and unselfish devotion, must be taken into account. His personality, therefore, is a potent fact in this estimate, and also his fidelity to pastoral duties.

Again, those who have heard him have been struck by two elements in his preaching. The first of these is its expository character. Dr. Hall seems chiefly to have devoted himself to elaborating the text and bringing out the thought which underlies it. His utterances, most of them, have been what are called the commonplaces of Christianity, the familiar truths with which we have been acquainted from childhood. Added to this is his constant simplicity of statement. It is not difficult for a child to understand him. His utterances are so unpretentious that people who cannot look beneath the surface have been known to go to his

church, listen to his sermon, and go away to express astonishment at the extreme simplicity of such a discourse in a church where are to be found some of the most cultured and able men of the metropolis. His sermons are so plain that anyone might be supposed capable of preaching them. But let the person who criticises them unfavorably undertake to announce the same sentiments in as impressive a way and he will find how exceedingly difficult it is. Dr. Hall has the rare faculty of taking the great heart-truths of Christianity, the great characters of Scripture, its parables and its miracles, and so investing them with his own experience and with the richness of his own meditations that they become living forces in the life of the people, who go away feeling that they have somehow been blessed and enriched in their spiritual life. People have been heard to say that they go to hear Dr. Hall in the afternoon in order that once during the day at least they may have their souls fed with the bread of life. He understands the Gospel, its philosophy, its history. He has meditated deeply and profoundly on the life and teachings of his Lord, has walked with Jesus in the garden, and has been near him as he arose and appeared to his disciples. He has gone with Paul through the wondrous plan of salvation, as revealed in the epistles to the Galatians and the Romans, until it is written on the very tablets of his being; he has studied the first epistle to the Corinthians until the great principles of Church government and Church life have become a part of his being; he has gone through the second epistle until he has felt the very throbs of the sufferings of the great apostle and the profoundness of his sympathy. He has stood with John on the isle of Patmos, and heard the voices which spoke to him from the other world, and has seen with him the city of God, coming down from heaven. All these great truths, both from the prophetical Scriptures and the New Testament, are very precious and important. Dr. Hall has lived them, has enjoyed them, has preached them. This, it would seem, is the philosophy of the event which we are considering.

We write not thus for the laudation of this revered pastor, but rather for the emulation of our younger ministers; and we desire that they may learn from it the lesson that not by mere brilliancy of scholarship, not by the scintillations of imagination, nor by the declaration of new and strange thoughts is humanity to be blessed, but rather by a deep insight into the things of God and a showing of them to the people with the simplicity and clearness which befit so lofty a theme. To do this, however, requires scholarship. It is with Dr. Hall, not an expression of its want, but of its fullness—scholarship so scholarly that neither preacher nor hearer perceives its presence until he stops to analyze it, and finds to his surprise that the very simplicity is a proof of the training behind it. Dr. Archibald Alexander, one of the founders of the Princeton Theological Seminary, uttered this truth: "It takes all our learning to make things simple."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND CRITICISM.

Professor Driver, in the Preface to the last edition of his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, though in a general way acknowledging that the archæological discoveries of recent years have been both valuable and interesting, yet maintains that they have revealed nothing at variance with the generally accepted conclusions of critics. But, lest we may misrepresent him, we shall reproduce his own words, which are as follows: "The attempt to refute the conclusions of criticism by means of archæology has signally failed, . . . and the idea that the monuments furnish a refutation of the general critical position is a pure illusion." The soundness or fallacy of this statement must depend upon the real meaning of the terms "criticism" and the "general critical position." For, as we all know, there are critics and critics. We presume, however, that the learned author had in mind the vague term "higher criticism," in other words, a critical inquiry into the nature, origin, and date of the several books of the Old Testament. Now, what are the generally accepted conclusions of critics? Unless that can be answered Professor Driver's statements may mean one thing to one man and something quite different to another. Indeed, he admits that there is a criticism which cannot be trusted, and that there are extreme critics; for in the same paragraph he adds: "I readily allow that there are some critics who combine with their literary criticism of the Old Testament an historical criticism, which appears to me to be unreasonable and extreme; and I am not prepared to say that isolated instances do not exist in which opinions expressed by one or another of these critics may have to be reconsidered in the light of recent discoveries."

These words of the Oxford professor seem to repudiate the extreme wing of the critical school, no less than the conclusions drawn from the monuments by such men as Sayce and Hommel. It is therefore an effort to find a middle way between the Wellhausen school and the conservatives under the leadership of the Assyriologist and the modern archæologist. That the latter have sometimes gone too far cannot be doubted, and that they have occasionally reached conclusions on insufficient data is also evident; but their shortcomings in this regard are few and far between, compared with the wild speculations of Wellhausen and his less distinguished echoes. Wellhausenism followed to its legitimate results would wipe out everything supernatural about the religion of Israel, and would reduce the Old Testament to the level of the sacred books of other nations. It is, therefore, refreshing to learn from the pen of Professor Driver that archæology and the general critical position are after all not so widely separated. Thus may we not

hope that the chasm which once existed is being gradually bridged over? It is now much less common among the critics than it was ten years ago to sneer at the efforts of the Assyriologists, and to brand almost all the conclusions of the archæologists, especially when referring to biblical criticism, as unscientific. Scholars have in the meantime also weighed the subjective theories of some of the critical leaders, and have found them wanting. Archæology has constantly pushed to the front, and as it has revealed its varied treasures it has shown the weakness of Wellhausenism. In a general way we may say that not a single one of the recent discoveries has in any way contradicted the Old Testament; but, on the other hand, many a passage which at one time was regarded as doubtful or obscure has been explained and confirmed in a most wonderful manner. Thus the monuments bear indubitable testimony to the antiquity of many a custom and practice which the neo-critics once regarded as later inventions of Hebrew writers, invested with an air of antiquity with the view of giving them greater authority. Much in the same way as if some modern politician in the United States should foist his own views, in regard to the money or other question upon the American people in the name of Jefferson or Washington.

Now, one of the cardinal doctrines of the German biblical critic of the destructive type and his meek follower in English-speaking countries is that the Old Testament is of a much later date than was formerly supposed, and that the several books in the Hebrew Scriptures are the results of compilation and more or less careful editing. There are, it is commonly acknowledged, some passages in the Hebrew Bible interpolated after the main body of the work had been written; but if Ezra or his contemporaries did some editing that is no reason why an entire book should be branded as post-exilic. One has well said, "The love of documentary analysis, like the love of allegorical interpretation, tends in some minds to become a morbid passion, under the influence of which one cannot read the simplest paragraph without dark suspicion of duplicity of authorship." Thus, according to the neo-critics, everything from Genesis to Malachi is a mosaic, more or less artistically patched together. Even Obadiah, the shortest book in the Old Testament, is of composite origin. Should anyone desire to gratify his curiosity in this direction let him examine the Polychrome, or "Rainbow," Bible now going through the press. Take, for instance, the thirteenth page of the Book of the Judges, containing vi, 28–vii, 2. This single page has five different colors or documents, but so placed together as to show at least fifteen patches. This is criticism gone to seed and bound to fall into disrepute.

We shall not discuss the document theory in this place, but shall simply ask the question, Why do the critics depress the date of the several books? Why, for instance, do they insist upon the nonmosaic authorship of the Pentateuch? Underlying the entire scheme of the Wellhausen school of critics is the determination of reducing the Old Testament to the level of other books, and thus to deprive it of all

supernatural worth. In order to do this successfully both the miraculous and prophetical elements must be eliminated. Granting that the books were not written till centuries after the events therein discussed had taken place, there is no need of inspiration or supernatural aid to foretell them. This prophecy is not prophecy at all, but rather history, so worded, however, as to deceive the ages till the time of Wellhausen and his wise followers. So, in regard to the miraculous, if anything has been reported as passing the boundaries of the natural it is for the interest of the writer to date it back to the distant past, when the wonderful, mysterious, and legendary played such an important part. Anyone adopting such a theory will find some difficulty in distinguishing between the miracles of the Old Testament and the wonderful works of Hercules and other heroes of Greek mythology. If, for example, the Book of Daniel was not written till 168 B. C. the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace, or of Daniel in the lions' den, can be termed legendary or mythical much more easily than if the book had been written by Daniel or some contemporary in the same year or decade as the events are supposed to have occurred.

Some of the arguments produced by the critics for the late origin of books are of the flimsiest kind. One argument to prove that Daniel could not have been written as early as 550 B. C. is the presence of three Greek words. "These words," says Driver, "it may be confidently affirmed could not have been used in the Book of Daniel unless it had been written after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia through the conquests of Alexander the Great." Such reason is scientific (?), written by a critic, a defender of modern criticism. The words in question are the names of musical instruments. What reason can there be for thinking that these musical terms or musical instruments, if you please, did not exist before the time of Aristotle or Plato, or for thinking that not only the words but the very instruments could not have been carried to Babylon centuries before the time of Alexander? If not directly from Greece, by the way of Egypt? The fact that Professor Petrie found among the ruins of Tel-el-Amarna many specimens of Mycenæan pottery proves that there were commercial relations between Egypt and Greece at least 1400 B. C. If Greece and Egypt exchanged commodities at so early a date, many centuries earlier, is it an incredible thing that these musical instruments bearing Greek names could have been found in Babylon in the sixth century before our era? Archæology has clearly established the fact that there was a flourishing commerce between the nations of the Orient from gray antiquity. This fact must be emphasized. The critics can no longer ignore it. It confirms in a remarkable way several important things reported in the Bible as historical, but relegated by the critics to the region of myths, such as the account of the military campaign reported in Genesis xiv. The monuments have shown that this chapter may have been actual history, and not a fanciful story invented centuries later by some one who had witnessed the expeditions of

the later Assyrian kings. Nay, more, three or four of the very names have been revealed to us by monuments of undoubted antiquity.

The critics have delighted to regard the ancient Israelites as a people far down in the scale of civilization, and utterly unfit for such legislation as is contained in the Pentateuch. They have evolved a Hebrew, not out of history as given in the Bible, but out of their own idea of the development of the Israelites. They have constructed a theory. Everything must bend to this. If the documents, they say, fail to support this theory, then the documents must be spurious. The teachings of the Pentateuch are too lofty to have come from the semibarbaric hordes of wandering Hebrews of the Mosaic times, a people, we are informed, whose religion could have been hardly anything more than rude fetichism. We are assured that the books bearing the name of Moses are, for the most part, pious frauds, the work of more enlightened Jews written after the captivity. Or, as Justi of Marburg, quoted by Hommel, says, in no guarded language: "A fiction was set on foot to the effect that the priestly code had long ago been delivered to the people by Moses, either as a law to be immediately followed by them or as a rule for their future guidance under new conditions, which Moses in his capacity as prophet must have been able to foresee. A wholesale perversion of history was the result; the whole body of tradition was revised on theocratic lines, with a view to prove that the Levitical priesthood and priestly office had existed prior to the time of the kings, and even during the wanderings in the desert; even the history of primitive times which teems with mythical (polytheistic) associations was distorted in the interests of the new code, and employed to strengthen the arguments in favor of its preexistence." This quotation of Justi, not himself a theologian, yet fairly represents the critical school. True, he might have been more guarded and couched his language in less offensive words. Granting that there was a Moses, the tabernacle with its costly furniture and the priesthood of the wilderness were pure inventions of later ages.

Here again the monuments have come to our rescue. Unfortunately, Wellhausen had elaborated his theory while archæology was still an infant, unable to talk. Of late years the monuments of the Nile and Euphrates valleys have revealed to us the fact that there was a very high degree of civilization in the nations around Israel ages before Moses. Both Egypt and Babylon possessed much literature in the first half of the second millennium before Christ, some of it of marvelous beauty and lofty moral tone. No one can read the great hymn to Aten, published by Petrie,* without being convinced of this. The remarkable resemblance between the formation of the proper names on the old Babylonian monuments, as well as upon those of southern Arabia, and the proper names of the Book of Numbers is also very marked. The testimony from the monuments is, therefore, all favorable to the conservative view, and the sooner the higher critics will see it the better it will be for biblical criticism.

* *History of Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 215–218.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE SULTAN NOT POPE OF THE MOSLEM WORLD.

THE French minister for foreign affairs is reported to have referred to the Sultan of Turkey as "the spiritual head of his people." This is a serious blunder. It is not the truth, nor does it express anything like the truth; but it is one of those influential misapprehensions which seriously complicate the understanding and judgment of both political and religious circles in the United States and elsewhere among Christian peoples. Every little while we hear intimations of the concentration of the Mohammedan world in a fanatical uprising against Christian powers and the Christian missionary, based upon the apprehension that the sultan is the political head of the Mohammedan world, and that a word from Constantinople might be sufficient to call the entire Moslem communities of the globe to a great uprising against Christendom. What is possible to the fanaticism of the most religiously fanatical people on the globe, and what under unusual combinations in the political sphere might occur in the way of a simultaneous antagonism to British, French, and German rule which exists over four fifths of the Mohammedan population of the world, it is not within our province to set forth. But that this should result from the call or command of the Sultan of Turkey as the head of the Mohammedan world is based entirely on a misapprehension of the facts in the case. The only center of the Mohammedans of the world, the only pope that they recognize, would be such because of a recognition of the caliphate, or successor of Mohammed. This the Sultan of Turkey claims to be, but the large bulk of the Mohammedan world does not recognize that he has succeeded to the title of "caliph," and there is nothing upon which Mohammedan fanaticism could be more quickly and surely raised than by any forcible attempt of the Sublime Porte to secure a recognition of himself as the successor of Mohammed. Rev. E. Sell, in his second edition, revised and enlarged, of *The Future of Islam*, published in 1896, states with the quotation of numerous authorities what is well and widely known by all students of Islam, that the caliphate inheres in the tribe of Quraish, and the present Sultan of Turkey is not of that tribe.

It is evident, therefore, that for the powers of western Europe to ascribe to the sultan the title of "the spiritual head of his people"—in so far as it means all the Mohammedan community throughout the world, or of those of Persia and many other great segments of Mohammedan population of the world—is to foster a false view of his power which may create needless alarm in the Christian world, and which may so increase, not only his sense of importance, but his sense of personal and official obligation to maintain the traditions of Mohammed, as to increase the

chances of his positively refusing to favor the reforms which the Christian powers of Europe are endeavoring to impose upon the Turkish empire. There is no need to additionally complicate any forward movement, political, social, or religious, in the Turkish empire by a false assertion which would suggest additional sycophancy, or which tends to enhance the importance of Ahmad II, "the great assassin."

There is always enough fanatical hatred to Christians in the Mohammedan world to produce at irregular intervals a burst of bitter and inhuman acts of cruelty and organized oppression and bloodshed. Where and when this fanaticism shall find expression—whether in Macedonia, or Constantinople, or Syria, or Armenia, or Crete, or Algeria, or India—no one may predict. There is always a complication of motives, any one of which may be sufficient to kindle the flames of violence or war. If the treasury of the sultan is depleted there may follow the bull-baiting of the Jew or the Christian or of any other class within the influence of the head of the Turkish government that has accumulated wealth enough to tempt him, and these may become the subjects of violence. But, at a time when the European powers are checkmating each other in the great game of political selfishness, it is mischievous and only mischievous to increase the sense of importance of the sultan by an erroneous ascription to him of titles and power which he does not possess as the head of what we may style the Mohammedan Church.

The bearing of this on missionary work in Mohammedan lands is too patent to need proof. Everything that checks reform in general impedes missionary progress; and anything that increases the vanity of the Sublime Porte, or augments his dignity among Moslems or Christians, evidently adds to the obstruction of Christian missions among Moslems—the successful conduct of these missions being already and everywhere conceded to be the most difficult work to which the Church has set its hand, in its efforts at world-wide evangelization.

THE LATE PROFESSOR LEGGE, D.D., LL.D., OF OXFORD.

James Legge was too important a character to allow his passing out from our midst without special mention. Born in 1814, and dying in 1897, his life nearly spans the century. The splendid training he received at Kings College and University, Aberdeen, and then at Highbury College, London, fitted him for lofty accomplishment; but his overmastering passion as a missionary brought all his powers, natural and acquired, into subordination to one great central purpose. He once wrote to the secretary of a society in which he observed a critical tone toward missions a long letter giving his views on "missions, their use and abuse." In this he said: "I began to think of what might be my own course in life long before I was ten years old; it was as clear to me as that two plus two equals four that if I could not find a good reason which Christ would admit for not becoming a missionary I must go as

one to some foreign field. For nearly ten years the search for such a reason went on in my mind, until every sophistical excuse which I proposed to myself was gradually disposed of, and in 1839 I went as a missionary to the Chinese. I thank God to-day that I was finally constrained to adopt that course, and when I look back on the more than thirty years that I spent among that people I venture to think that it was to me a grace given to teach and preach among them 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.'"

Dr. Legge began his missionary life at Malacca, and became the presiding spirit in the college for the higher education of Chinese young men at a time when China haughtily refused to allow foreigners free access into the country; but at the conclusion of the war between England and China and the signing of the treaty of Nanking, by which Hong Kong became British territory, he hastened to take up his residence there and set himself to the great task of his life, that of mastering the Chinese classics. He studied the written characters until he was able to read for himself the writings of the ancient sages of China. The study grew to be an absorbing passion, and he became dimly conscious that his life-work was in some way to be intimately associated with Chinese literature. The great purpose of translating the writings of Confucius and Mencius into English gradually fixed itself in his mind. He would bring them within the reach of every English reader that cared to know about them, for these classics reveal the mind of China more than any other books that have been written in that great empire. They have molded and developed the Chinese character; they have been the only school-books that could be tolerated in any school through the eighteen provinces; they are the royal road to distinction and honors in the state. Legge would let the world know what the Chinese were by opening this door into the Chinese classics. The industry, the genius, the scholarship, the steadfast devotion that enabled him to perform this great task are rarely paralleled in the history of missions or in the development of literature. It was not that this was his only missionary work, for he built up a growing Chinese church and was pastor of the Union Church in Hong Kong, preaching every week to a cultured English congregation, and being known as a man of great force and public spirit in the community at Hong Kong. But the one thing upon which his world-wide fame rests is the profound scholarship that enabled him to translate the sacred books of China into the English tongue and thus to break down the great wall that for many centuries has hidden the Chinese nation from the knowledge of the West.

Besides this thirty years of toil and devotion in China he resided in Oxford from 1876 till his death as professor of Chinese language and literature. He made it his chief toil for twenty-one years in this university, as he did for so long in China, to cause the West to know and sympathize with the East, by other translations of Chinese classics and treatises on Chinese religions, besides training many able and competent

missionaries. The power of such a life, the reach and importance of the highway he cast up, as a pioneer, over which others have traveled, is incomputable.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SHINTOISM.

A NEW association has been formed in Japan for the purpose of gaining a thorough knowledge of the Shinto religion. Its leaders maintain that Buddhism and Confucianism have lost their influence over men's minds because of their having become corrupt. Christianity, they say, is antinational, and Shintoism, as hitherto understood, it acknowledges is inadequate, while Shintoists have dropped out of mind the teachings of their sacred books, to the effect that Japan is the chosen country of the gods and her people the objects of their care. So far as we can understand it the proposition is to collate passages of the Shinto sacred books and incorporate into their interpretation the best teachings of other religions. The leaders of the new association say that the doctrines which it is important to teach by means of these books are: 1. The universe is boundless and without beginning or end, in which there is only one supreme God with the attributes of intelligence, valor, and love. 2. By means of his spirit and vital energy one god and one goddess were created, who form with him a trinity in unity and unity in trinity. From these gods came a variety of other deities and the parents of the human race. As man's spirit was derived from God's spirit it is immortal, but did not receive enough of God's vital energy to exist forever. 3. Original human nature is neither good nor bad, but union of spirit with flesh has resulted in conflicting feelings in man's heart struggling for the supremacy. 4. Man's duty lies in cultivating the three divine virtues—intelligence, love, and courage—from which are derived loyalty, filial piety, chastity, obedience to elder brothers, sincerity, truth in friendship, kind feeling and compassion for the unfortunate. 5. The path of happiness is the path of virtue. 6. The lot of each man is settled by the gods. The law of cause and effect extends over this world and the next. 7. Repentance may merit God's favor and forgiveness of the greatest criminals. 8. The actions of men are closely observed by the gods, and rewards and punishments are meted out.

But this is a constructive Shintoism. These seven virtues are of Confucian origin. The doctrine of cause and effect is taken from the tenets of Buddhism, and that of trinity in unity from Christianity, while the Shinto cosmogony, as well as its ethics, is borrowed from the religious system of China. Hence, this twentieth century Shintoism is essentially eclectic in its doctrines, and is of interest chiefly as one of the straws which show the present unsettled condition of the Japanese mind. New societies aiming at a revival of Shinto are, however, quite common, though they are by no means agreed, unless it be in the one thing of reviving the worship of Japan's ancient gods in order to keep her from losing her nationality.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Heinrich Appel. It cannot be said that this scholar has really added anything of value to theological thought, but he has a certain ability in the restatement of beliefs long accepted. He is one of the orthodox party in Germany, which means that he in no way modifies the views so long held in the Christian Church. He has recently expressed himself on the nature of Christ, in a work entitled *Die Selbstbezeichnung Jesu: Der Sohn des Menschen. Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchnung* (The Self-Designation of Jesus: The Son of Man. A Biblical-Theological Investigation). Stavenhagen, Beholtz, 1896. To Appel's thought Jesus, the Son of man, is a man who is at the same time God, or the equal with God. The term "Son of God" denotes the actual equality with God. The two terms, "Son of God" and "Son of man," are in closest relationship to each other. The Son of man is that man who is at the same time the Son of God. The term "Son of man" expresses the antithesis to the ordinary man of the world, but the term "Son of God" is that which is designed for believers. Hence the former should not be the one principally employed in the churches. The self-designation of Jesus was the declaration of antagonism against the Jews who had deified man, and the Son of man was rejected because he has blasphemed man by pointing out his sinful condition. And yet he was charged with blaspheming God by making himself equal with God. Thus Appel takes up the cudgel against those who try to make Jesus out both God and not God. Far be it from us to accuse anyone of intentionally lowering the dignity of Christ. His nature is the problem of the ages. He was so like us, and yet unlike us, so like all our conceptions of God, that we have no unit of measure by which to estimate him. He was so human that one might be excused for being exclusively absorbed in the contemplation of his human nature. He was so Godlike that were one to assert that he was not human at all, but God only, we could not censure him. He is too vast in any one of his aspects for human comprehension. He was a man, yet no one ever saw such a man before or since. He was God, if God is love, righteousness, and everything else good in an infinite degree. We say we could not censure anyone who fails to comprehend him as he was, for none of us do that in all regards. Yet we must stand up, as Appel does, for a part of the fact against which many objections can be made, but which is nevertheless fact. And, as scientific theologians, we must do this, no less than as practical. For, while science often pursues the method of logical exclusion of what seems to be fact, basing its decisions upon what seems to be well-established truth, yet it is in fact unscientific to do so. If the actual divinity of Christ

appear inconsistent with positions apparently established by science or philosophy, we should remember that there are more things in heaven and earth than our science and philosophy ever dreamed of. If these will not take in all there was of Christ we must enlarge them.

Paul Althaus. That the old dogmatic method of treating the Bible still lives and thrives, even in Germany, is evident by the fact that the universities continue to turn out men who practice it. An instance of this is Althaus. In a recent work, entitled *Die Heilsbedeutung der Taufe im Neuen Testament* (The Significance of Baptism for Salvation in the New Testament) (Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1897), he has given us a remarkable illustration of this. That the New Testament is made by him to teach the Lutheran doctrine of baptism is not the proof of what we have said; but the manner in which he has turned and twisted the Scripture, so that it might teach that doctrine, is proof. We would not assert that this turning and twisting of Scripture was purposely done to reach the desired end, but rather do we think that Althaus has been so saturated with the idea of the Lutheran doctrine being taught in the Scripture that he naturally sees it there. The only hope of a true interpretation of Scripture is to deliberately free oneself as consciously and completely as possible from doctrinal prepossession, and to continually ask oneself whether if we had never heard of the doctrine a passage seems to teach it would be found there by us. By constant exercise of the feeling of loyalty to what the Scriptures really teach, rather than by the effort to confirm by them the doctrines we have been taught, we gradually learn to read the Scriptures for what they say, instead of for what we want or expect them to say. Nor have we anything to lose, but everything to gain, by perfect submission to the teachings of Scripture, regardless of whether they overturn our doctrinal systems. These systems were not professedly in all cases drawn wholly from Scripture, but in part at least were deductions from supposed Scripture teaching and philosophical preconceptions combined. It is hardly a fair method of treating the Bible to search it for passages supporting preconceptions brought with us to the Bible. Besides, even so far as our doctrinal systems were professedly drawn from the Scripture they express the interpretative judgment of the men who framed them, which is not necessarily correct. It must be supposed that in the centuries some new light has beamed forth from God's word. It is not likely that so inexhaustible a mine of truth was fully developed by men who lived centuries ago, much as we revere them and their achievements. The Bible will always remain richer than any interpretation of it. Some of its remaining riches will be discovered from time to time. Gain only, and not loss, can result from the use of all its newly discovered riches. We should, in other words, hold our doctrinal systems as tentative embodiments of Christian doctrine, while the Bible is the final source of religious truth.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Schöpfung und Entwicklung nach Bibel und Naturwissenschaft (Creation and Evolution according to the Bible and Natural Science). Dutoit-Haller. Basel, Reich, 1892. This work is an attempt to compare scriptural and evolutionary theories of creation. The author does not undertake to show that science as taught to-day is essentially false. On the other hand, he says we must admit, in the interest of exact investigation, that the universe has from the beginning been ruled in accordance with the same laws as at present. But he demands that, in so far as these laws fail to account for the origin of the heavenly bodies or the first appearance of organic beings, the scientist is bound to confess frankly that here his knowledge is at its limit. He also insists that the Bible is not a handbook of astronomy or geology, but that it has an entirely different purpose from this, and considers the facts from a point of view entirely distinct from that of science. However, the author thinks that, since there was no human being to note and to pass on to later generations the events in nature which occurred prior to the appearance of man on the earth, the proof of inspiration is overwhelming, as soon as it appears that certain definite statements of Genesis agree with the results of scientific investigation. He then proceeds partly to show how the account of creation given in Genesis agrees with what scientists teach, and partly how Genesis provides the explanation for facts which science confesses its inability to explain, for example, the fact of light before the creation of the sun, and the introduction of the first motion into matter. One of the interesting features of the work is the writer's accusation that some of the Darwinians, and especially Haeckel, are guilty of misrepresentations and falsehoods, in order to make their case more plausible with the masses. Nor does he stand alone in making this accusation, for the dogmatism of Haeckel has reacted in such a way as to make all self-respecting men who differ from him assert themselves, and among them are some of the strongest names of German science. All the latter part of the work is filled with a discussion of the doctrine of evolution as taught by Darwin, and the conclusion is reached that it is not sufficiently well supported to warrant us in denying the creative agency in the world. In order to support himself in this contention the author refers to Klaus, one of the most zealous champions of Darwinian evolution, who confesses that it is quite impossible to understand the law of the development of living beings by the aid of natural selection alone. He even goes to the extent of denying that there is no such thing as fixed species, and affirms the fixity of the same. It must be said that, judged by the facts without the hypotheses, the writer makes a strong case.

Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche (The Orders and Congregations of the [Roman] Catholic Church). By Max Heimbucher. 2 vols. Paderborn, Schöningle, 1896, 1897. Written by a

Romanist and an admirer of the Jesuits, yet with a reasonable lack of prejudice, this work should accompany that on *Askese und Mönchthum*, by Zöckler, a Protestant. Like Zöckler's work, this fails of the historical spirit, and is in fact but a collection of material for history. The standpoint, however, differs from that of Zöckler, as asceticism differs from monasticism. Section I treats of the history of monasticism in the Orient and the Occident to the time of Benedict of Nursia; Section II, of the Benedictine rules, especially the Camaldules, Vallombrosians, Cistercians, Trappists, and Carthusians; the third section, of the orders and congregations of Franciscans and its branches, such as the Capuchins; the fourth, of the Augustinians and the numerous orders with Augustinian rule; the fifth, of the Dominicans; the sixth, of the Carmelites; the seventh, of the societies of regular clergy, particularly the Jesuits and Theatines; and the eighth, of the congregations in the true sense of the word, as distinguished from the monastic orders. The difference between the congregations and the orders is that the former are societies living in cloisters, but taking no such solemn vows as do the monks. The congregations are of two kinds, religious and secular. In the former there are taken simple oaths for the lifetime, in the presence of the spiritual superior. In the latter no oath is taken, or at most but two, or the oath is for a shorter period than the lifetime, or it is not taken before the spiritual superior. To this class of congregations belong the sisters of mercy; and it is exactly such societies as those which to-day exercise the greatest influence in the spread of the Roman Catholic Church. To one who would know the inside facts concerning the monastic orders and congregations this work will become a necessity. It is a misfortune, however, that the author does not see fit to give a fuller treatment of the great knightly orders which attempted to carry both the world and the Church in their hearts. So, also, it is a pity that he should have given himself up so wholly and almost exclusively to the Romanist view of the subject. It is, however, only another illustration of the fact that Romanists are Romanists first and afterward scientific investigators. If the Church has pronounced one a saint or blessed, the Romanist must paint his portrait accordingly, no matter what the facts may be. So that, in the reading of such a work, it is always necessary to remember that we are reading, not always what has been, but what the Church declares has been. It is instructive in reading a work like this to note how supposed manifestations of divine favor, in the power to work miracles or to serve the interests of Romanism, mark the saint.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recognized Defects of the German Deaconess System. One of the principal difficulties in this system is the lack of correct information among the masses of the people as to its nature, and their consequent prejudice against it. One serious result of this, as with the Methodist

deaconess work in this country, is that by no means a sufficient number of deaconesses can be secured. But this latter defect is also in part due to other causes. Among them is the fact that young women are educated with a view to a position in life more promising in the way of temporal ease than the deaconess work. Another reason is believed by some to exist in the very system itself as organized in Germany. This, while supplied with many able supporters, is not regarded by all as in every respect what it might be, and it is believed that while criticism is not very open the defects of the system are themselves to blame for the insufficient number of candidates offering themselves. There are those who think deaconesses should not be required to take up their residence in deaconess houses, but should be allowed to choose their own places of abode. The managers of the work in Germany are, however, bitterly opposed to such an arrangement. In fact, they seem unwilling to have any criticism of the prevailing system. Such a state of affairs can but result in the withdrawal of the sympathy of all those who believe in free discussion and the possibility of improvement. It would be a pity to have any such evil fall upon so beneficial a movement.

Was Von Moltke a Romanist at Heart? Recently much interest has been taken, though in a comparatively quiet way, in an alleged utterance of the late General von Moltke, to the effect that we Protestants will all have to become Catholic sometime. As far as it can be traced it first appeared in a contribution of the diplomat and historian Theodor von Bernhardi, in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. In 1895 it appeared as a motto to an anonymous brochure under the title, *Neither Protestantism nor Romanism, but Catholicism: A Polemic and Irenic of an Orthodox Catholic.* Berlin, C. F. Conrad. Professor Gustav Krüger, in some articles in the *Christliche Welt* on the subject of the reunion of the Christian Church, assumed the authenticity of the utterance and quoted it accordingly, though he now expresses regret that he did not more carefully investigate before employing it. Superintendent Bronisch says the words do not at all express Von Moltke's thought, which was that there should be a German national Catholic-Evangelical Church, the Evangelicals accepting as much as possible of the Catholic forms of worship, and the Catholics accepting the Evangelical doctrines and separating themselves from Rome. Bronisch also affirms that Von Moltke felt the advantage the Roman Catholics have over the Protestants in their forms of worship, which he regarded as excellently adapted to the masses. It seems that Von Moltke's ideas must have been essentially those held by Melanchthon. If Bronisch is right it is very certain that Von Moltke was not a Romanist, nor even a so-called Catholic. This is also the opinion of Krüger in the light of the whole discussion, though he regards it not impossible that the great commander may have used the words ascribed to him in the sense explained by Bronisch.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

One of Carlyle's oracular utterances was to the effect that "the true university is a collection of books." Quoting this sentiment as a point of departure, W. B. Shaw, in the *Review of Reviews* for February, sketches the origin and progress of a promising movement in popular education under the title of "The Traveling Library—a Boon for American Country Readers." The plan had its origin with Mr. Melvil Dewey, director of the New York State Library, who had long "advocated a scheme of State distribution of books by way of loan to institutions and to groups of taxpayers on payment of a nominal fee." The State having made its first appropriation for this purpose in 1892, forty-six libraries were sent out the first year; and since that time the increase has been constant, until in the fifth year four hundred and forty-seven libraries were loaned, and the total number of volumes owned by the State and available for distribution has become nearly 36,000. Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, and other States have since adopted the plan. But, says the writer, "the most interesting developments in this direction, because the most spontaneous, have been in Wisconsin." In the latter State the Honorable J. H. Stout has been the patron of the movement, and at the outset provided at his own expense some five hundred "standard and popular works of fiction, travel, history, biography, and science," to which number the demand for additional libraries has since compelled him to add. The simple conditions laid down for the reception of the books are that each association of farmers and villagers using them shall elect a secretary and a librarian, shall care for the books and keep them in an accessible place, and shall pay the small fee of one dollar. "The rural and village population in which they circulate numbers about 16,000. A special effort was made to induce the location of library 'stations' in the very poorest and most destitute portions of the county. The crossroads, rather than the villages, were sought as centers of influence, and it was found that in those places the libraries were quite as highly valued as in the more populous neighborhoods. All but five of the thirty-four stations from which reports were received in 1897 were in farmhouses, and of these farmhouses seven served also as post offices. Four of the remaining library stations were in small stores—in two of which were post offices—and one was in a railroad station. These thirty-four stations are circulating more than 10,000 volumes annually." Besides this and other movements in Wisconsin looking to the popular improvement Mr. Shaw mentions the State Federations of Women's Clubs in Georgia, New Jersey, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and other States, and infers they "will have an important part in popularizing the traveling library idea throughout the country." Of a similar nature, also, is the

work done by certain railroads among their employees. Thus, the Boston and Albany Railroad Company "opened a circulating library for its men as early as 1869, and now sends out about 3,000 volumes a year;" the railroad branch of the New York Young Men's Christian Association circulates some 7,000 volumes yearly; while the Baltimore and Ohio Employees' Free Circulating Library sends out about 40,000 volumes a year to 2,500 borrowers, and is "the most important institution of the kind in the country, if not in the world." In St. Louis, also, the plan is to be tried of distributing books to street car employees and their families. Nor is this all. "The few experiments described in this article," says Mr. Shaw, in conclusion, "do not begin to exhaust the possibilities of the traveling library. . . . The plan is capable of indefinite expansion and of application to a great variety of interests and conditions. In this new way the railroad, that great civilizing agent, may be made to serve even more effectively as the ally of the free school and the printing press in all that makes for the elevation of the race."

EVOLUTION should not be destructive of religious faith. "If we accept it," writes Professor George Macloskie, LL.D., in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January, "we will continue in the belief that God, having created the world, exercises special providence over his creatures; that he can employ all the powers of nature in subserving our good; that he can and will answer his children's prayers—and all this without it being necessary for him every day to work miracles or otherwise to disturb the order of the universe." The article of Professor Macloskie is entitled "Theistic Evolution." Professor G. T. Purves, LL.D., follows with a scholarly article on "The Witness of Apostolic Literature to Apostolic History." The New Testament, he concludes, "like a geological section reveals infallibly the processes and the order of the processes by which the Christian world was made." An interesting historical period is recalled by President E. D. Warfield, LL.D., in "The England of the Westminister Assembly." John Lilburne belonged to this age, who early "developed an inclination to adopt novel views and to maintain them with the most violent disputations," and of whom Marten said, "If the world was emptied of all but John Lilburne, Lilburne would quarrel with John, and John with Lilburne." Professor W. B. Greene, Jr., D.D., contributes the first of four papers on "The Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics;" Professor Edward Böhl, D.D., writes on "Two Phases of the History of the Huguenots;" and S. T. Lowrie, D.D., reviews an important work in his article entitled "Professor Theodor Zahn's History of Sunday." According to the reviewer, "the contention of the essay is that Sunday is the creature of the Christian Church, and that the obligation to observe it has no relation to the fourth commandment. Considering who the author is, and the recent date of what he publishes as the history of Sunday, this essay may be studied as being, up to date, the best

that may be said in support of this view of the Lord's day." Yet, for reasons that Dr. Lowrie cites, the essay is not correct in its historical interpretation.

The Anglo-Saxon ideal of society is to triumph in the struggle for the mastery that is now on. Such at least are the teachings of M. Edmond Demolins and Signor Guglielmo Ferrero in their recent volumes which are noticed in the *Edinburgh Review* for January. Both of these students of social science, according to the article, "are of opinion that the winners in the international struggle are winning because they are the people who have known how to adapt themselves to the changed conditions of life. The industrial revolution occasioned by the improvement of machinery and the wide use of coal has altered society root and branch. Individuals can no longer, except the few fortunate, step peaceably into the shoes of a father or an uncle, and no nation can retain of hereditary right the monopoly of any industry." According to Signor Ferrero, "the consequence of racial characteristics shows itself even more clearly in the New World than in the Old. 'Latin America has remained almost purely agricultural. English America has in a short period rivaled England in the magnitude and perfection of her industries.'" England succeeds, in the view of the same writer, "because it is a country of hard work undistracted by a thirst for fresh sensations, and dominated by a sense of duty in the details of life." Or, according to M. Demolins, England succeeds "because it is the country of self-help." And this, "because the whole course of Anglo-Saxon education tends to make men self-reliant; because Anglo-Saxon society is 'particularist,' not 'communitarian,' composed, that is, of individuals, not of families for units." In Anglo-Saxon communities, furthermore, the passage from class to class is constant and easy. But not so, for instance, with the French. "In France a man who follows one of the black-coated professions accounts himself disgraced if his sons have to live by trade in any form. . . . With [in Great Britain] the sons of an earl may run a steam laundry, may set up as wine or tea merchants, or, if they feel a taste for more elegant employments, may open a milliner's shop. When capital is not forthcoming for their ventures . . . the younger sons emigrate to Texas and set up a ranch; when they have dropped their money over that they conduct tramcars in New York or open a lamp store in San Francisco. . . . In the United States this last remnant of the old prejudice has disappeared, and no occupation seems to be accounted degrading; all are honorable, and more or less so in proportion to the profits." To all of which the writer adds the further considerations of colonization and non-socialism to show that the Anglo-Saxon is at the front in the struggle of the nations.

There is a divine purpose running through the ages, writes H. W. Everest, Dean of the Bible College of Drake University, in the *Christian*

Quarterly for January. This purpose culminates in "man's moral perfection." Its manifestations may be traced in the progress of nature, the trend of human history, and the evolution of Christianity. And this purpose shall eventually have its consummation, through the Church as the chief instrumentality. But "we must cease wasting the revenues of the kingdom. We must not try to maintain a dozen churches in a village where two are all that are needed." Modern Christendom also needs a reconsecration to Christ's service. "But what lies beyond this consummation? . . . Heaven beyond heaven, life beyond life, glory beyond glory, and progress beyond progress in the infinite universe of God, world without end." Dean Everest's article is entitled "God's Purpose in the Ages."

The February issue of the *North American* has: 1. "America's Interests in China," by General J. H. Wilson; 2. "A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement," by Frances M. Abbott; 3. "European Example for American Farmers," by A. F. Weber, of Cornell University; 4. "Is our Educational System Top-Heavy?" by Elliott Flower; 5. "The Monetary Commission and its Work," by the Hon. C. S. Fairchild; 6. "Lincoln's Skill as a Lawyer," by J. L. King; 7. "The Crisis of Civil Service Reform," by H. T. Newcomb; 8. "Railroads *versus* Canals," by J. A. Latcha; 9. "The Chinaman in American Politics," by C. F. Holder; 10. "Recollections of the Civil War—I," by Sir W. H. Russell, LL.D.

Among the attractive articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for January are: "A Walk through Deserted London," by Sir Algernon West; "Parish Life in England Before the Great Pillage," by the Rev. Dr. Jessop; "The Childhood and School Days of Byron," by R. E. Prothero; and "The Partition of China," by H. S. Hallett.——The *Religious Review of Reviews* is a new publication, whose first issue bears date of January 20. It contains much interesting religious compilation. Its editor is Clarence B. Strouse, and its press office is Salem, Va.——The *London Quarterly* for January has: 1. "Tennyson's Life and Letters;" 2. "The Making of New South Wales;" 3. "A High Churchman of the Third Century;" 4. "Minor Annals of the House of Commons;" 5. "Wild Norway;" 6. "The Story of Some English Ships;" 7. "Rudyard Kipling the Poet;" 8. "In South Central Africa;" 9. "Agricultural Depression and Foreign Competition."——The *Christian City* for January, as the exponent of city evangelization work, and particularly that in New York city, is vigorous, timely, and readable. The number includes the addresses given in November, 1897, at the joint meeting of the New York and Brooklyn Social Unions, on "Methodism in Greater New York." Under the editorship of F. M. North, D.D., the publication continues to show a broad grasp of the problems of metropolitan missionary work.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, author of *The Christian View of God and the World* (Kerr Lectures), etc. 12mo, pp. xii and 276. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Professor Orr has written after actual study of the canonical books on Ritschlianism. If there were nothing in his book to commend we should be compelled to say that he has not condemned the Ritschlian theology without having read a single line from the founders and members of the school, as so many Americans have done. Anyone who reads the book now under review, therefore, will first of all find an intelligent and, on the whole, judicial portrayal of a theology which has greatly agitated and influenced German theological thought, and which, now that the interest in it is decreasing in its native land, is apparently taking root in this country. The author had before him a difficult task; for the Ritschlian theology is not only formidable in the bulkiness and profundity of the many volumes which set it forth, it is also the most perplexing maze of skepticism, or rather agnosticism, on the one hand, and of faith on the other, ever offered for acceptance to intelligent men. In saying this we do not mean to condemn it, for in these two elements its strength and value are to be found. A careful perusal of Professor Orr's book leads us to the conviction that he, as indeed most writers on Ritschlianism, has failed to catch the true spirit of the theology he criticises. No one can correctly understand the theology of Ritschl until he discovers that it does not propose to be a theology in the old sense of the word, and hence must not be measured by the old standard. Strictly speaking, all that Ritschlianism means to offer is a theory of the religious, the Christian life. It is not designed to be a system of thought. Professor Orr theorizes as to the reasons for Ritschl's peculiar interest in the doctrines of justification and reconciliation. He might have found it in the fact that they include about all there is of religion. He also asserts that anyone who thinks Ritschl was not in every nerve and fiber of his being a systematic theologian misapprehends him. Very true, if by systematic theology is meant a systematic, or even a speculative, treatment of what Ritschl regarded as essential to the religious life. But if by systematic theology be meant such a system as generally goes under that name, Ritschl was not a systematic theologian. This is the explanation of the unsatisfied feeling one experiences after reading Ritschl's works. Unconsciously we measure him by a standard to which he refuses, on principle, to conform. Professor Orr attributes Ritschl's practical denial of some Christian doctrines, ordinarily regarded fundamental, to a desire to adapt the system to modern thought; but

this is only a partial explanation of the facts. Ritschl omits no tenet which seems to him needful for the religious life, and, on the other hand, he will include in his system nothing useless for that purpose. Hence it is that "value judgments" take so large a place in his system. These assert only so much, for example, concerning the relation of Jesus Christ to the Father as religion needs. That this, and not the elimination of metaphysics from theology, is the deciding principle, is evident from the fact noted by Orr and all careful readers, that Ritschl does not, as sometimes asserted, reject metaphysics, but only that use of metaphysics which carries us into purely speculative realms, where the conclusions have no value for the Christian life. That Orr misapprehends the facts in this respect is no wonder, since Ritschl is far from capable of making himself intelligible, and it is doubtful whether, in striving to work out a system on the principle we have mentioned, he did not often lose sight of his main purpose in the details with which he had to deal. Professor Orr was somewhat misled by the object he had in view as expressed by the title of his book. Had he divested himself of the thought of a variation from the evangelical faith which he desired to point out, and confined himself to an estimate of the Ritschlian theology in the light of an unbiased judgment, he might have appreciated some things in the Ritschlian system more than he does, though we cannot suppose it would have found an adherent in him. The fatal defect, as also the strength, of the Ritschlian theology is just in its primary purpose to avoid all that is unnecessary to the religious life. In the first place, no man knows what is necessary to another, and the attempt to fix the bounds is sure to prove a failure. Then, too, the religious life has its interaction with the intellectual life. It is impossible to segregate the religious needs as though they existed apart from the other needs of the soul. The human spirit is not divided, like the hull of an ocean steamer, into compartments having no communication with each other, but it exists and acts as a whole. Hence any system must satisfy intellect as well as emotion. Ritschlianism may not have overlooked this, but it has practically ignored it. We have not meant to criticise Orr's book, which is an exceedingly able production, but to point out some facts which may add to what he gives us in the proper understanding of the most fruitful of recent theological movements.

The Story of Jesus Christ. An Interpretation. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Crown 8vo, pp. 413. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

When Austin Phelps's daughter, a woman after his own heart and of his own mental stature, pours out her affluent soul at the height of its experience and wisdom, in retelling in her own phrasing earth's greatest Story and interpreting earth's most wonderful Life, the result must be something noble and holy. On her first page Mrs. Ward puts one of her father's sayings: "A man whose soul is absorbed in a great life's work is apt to disclose his own mental history only in glimpses. Christ was no exception to this." One cannot help imagining the joy her father would

have in this book were he alive to read what Christ, whom he taught his child to love and worship, has become to her in her life's ripe years, when she expresses and interprets to her fellow-men her own soul's conception and vision of her Lord. A pen of many tasks, not one of them mean, evidently counts this last its loftiest endeavor. Mrs. Ward says her book is not theology or criticism, biography, history, or sermon; not a study of Jewish life or oriental customs; not a hand-book of Palestinian travel or a map of Galilean and Judean geography. It speaks for no sect, pleads for no doctrine. It is not a romance. It is a narrative; it is her personal interpretation of the history given in the gospels. In this she aims to pass by unimportant things, and to weave her story of the important things, few, clear, and unquestionable—all that any of us need, all that most of us care for—such as these: "Jesus Christ lived and died and lived again after death. He lived a life explicable upon no other view of it than his. He founded a faith comprehensible upon no other interpretation of it than his own. He himself is Christianity. He is the greatest force in civilization; the highest motive power in philosophy, in art, in poetry, in science, in faith. He is the creator of human brotherhood. To apprehend him is to open the only way that has yet been found out of the trap of human misery. His personality is the best explanation yet given of the mystery of human life. It offers the only assurance we have of a life to come." "There is not, there never was, there never may be, a miracle as strange as the life of Jesus the Christ. He was the Miracle. Explain him. There will be no difficulty with any lesser wonder." "This unpretending book," says its author, "hopes to find its friends in the warm, human world outside of books," rather than among the erudite and the critical. In her prefatory note she tells of the wonder and charm with which the writing of this book has filled her experience: "Often on waking in the morning, after days of the most absorbing and affectionate study of the Great Life, the first conscious thought has been: 'Who was with me yesterday? What noble being entered this door? In what delightful, in what high society have I been!' I felt as if I had made a new, a supreme acquaintance." So is it ever with those who love him. The inexhaustible Christ seems ever new and greater and more lovely. A secular paper says of the book: "Christians will read it with deep reverence, and will receive a profound inspiration, while to the agnostic and the skeptical it will appeal as a truthful and absorbing story of the noblest life." Mrs. Ward closes her story with a description of the ascension, and these words: "Thus vanished from the earth Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God. Evil never touched his spirit. Corruption did not approach his body. Even his ashes were not permitted to remain in the soil of the land that had given him. He was born in denial of the laws of life. He died in defiance of the laws of death. He was Lord of law. Ideal of sacrifice, Master of suffering, the grandest intellect, the purest heart that this low world has known—its Supreme Soul—he passed. He has left us the

faith that bears his name. He has left us the august opportunity of everlasting life."

Visions and Service. By WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts. 12mo, pp. 235. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Fourteen discourses delivered in college chapels, in the hope of helping to a firmer faith and a higher life the young men of those institutions, aiming to speak the most simple, sincere, strong words for intelligent religion. Their character is indicated to some extent in their titles: "The Young Man's Vision;" "The Challenge of Jesus;" "The Fixedness of Character;" "The Worth of One Fact;" "A Skillful Defence;" "The Unchangeableness and the Changeableness of Faith;" "The Priests' Taunt;" "Three Characters;" "The University Man in Active Life;" "Jesus in His Own City;" "Heavenly-mindedness;" "Privilege and Helpfulness;" "A Keynote of College Life;" "A Servant of His Own Generation." Under "Fixedness of Character" is this story: "One of the leading physiologists of this country, in speaking of Sir Philip Sidney dying on the battlefield and refusing to take the cup of water which another soldier needed, told me that he did not think it cost Sir Philip Sidney any effort; in fact, he questioned whether Sidney recognized the beauty of the act. On my expressing surprise he said, 'Why, the fact is that, as a physiologist, I believe that the gentle and true life of Sir Philip Sidney, his self-restraint and his almost perfect poise of character throughout the development of his manhood, had gradually led him to a point where he was physically, morally, and spiritually so balanced that it cost him no effort to do any action which we call heroic. It was automatic to him, and herein, not in that act on the battlefield, but in the nobility of his character, is seen the admirable feature of Sir Philip Sidney.'" "The charm of his nature was, not that he was braver than others, or a better courtier, or a purer poet than others, but that he had all the qualities which go to make up the man in such true proportion. He was, as one biographer calls him, 'the essence of congruity.'" This saying from Phillips Brooks the morning after he had passed an evening with the Loyal Legion and heard the talk of the veterans: "Why, the war was fought by a lot of boys! They were all so young!" When a young man enters college, "'What effect do you think the college will have upon my son?' is the question of the anxious father. 'What effect is your son going to have upon the college?' is the response of the faculty."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The New Psychology. By E. W. SCRIPTURE, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Director of the Yale Psychological Laboratory. With 124 illustrations. 12mo, pp. xxiv, 500. Eight Appendices. The Contemporary Science Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This work, aptly named and appropriately dedicated to Wundt, Ladd, and Hall for their invaluable services in founding the new science, aims "to show just what the new psychology is" and "to make clear the fun-

damental ideas of the science" without attempting "to cover the whole field of investigation. Salient points and fundamental methods were chosen rather than a multitude of details." To secure this end the book is arranged in five parts. Part I, Methods, explains observation, statistics, measurement, and experimenting in mental science. Part II illustrates careful experimentation and measurements, and treats of Time —its standards, its place in sensation, volition, reaction, and thought, time estimates, rhythm, time influence, and succession. Part III presents results rather than means, and discusses Energy—its standards, voluntary action and fatigue, passive and active movement, resistance and heaviness, weights, pressure, pain, feelings, sound, and color. Part IV, a systematic development of principles rather than of details, is devoted to Space—its standards, bodily, tactual, monocular, monocular and bodily, and binocular space. Part V is historical, describing the origin, sources, leaders, and present situation of the youthful science. Dr. Scripture defines the new psychology as "a purely mental science founded on careful experiment and exact measurement," and expounds his theme in a readable style, occasionally ramifying into needless detail (pp. 40, 41, 43–45, 83, 112–120, 209–210), but often showing excellent descriptive ability (chapters 7, 8, 30, *et freq.*), and throughout a good judgment in choosing his materials. The plan of the book might be improved by making an historical introduction of chapters 31–33—An Inevitable Event; Sources of the New Science; Fechner, Helmholtz, Wundt (pp. 436–462)—thus better preparing the reader to begin its perusal, and informing him earlier that "the new psychology is thus merely a development on the basis of the old; there is no difference in its material, no change in its point of view, and no degeneration in its aims. What the old tried to do, namely, to establish a science of mind, and what it did do, as far as its means allowed, the new psychology with vastly improved methods and facilities is striving to develop in finer detail" (page 453). An historical introduction would neatly open the subject, and the body of the book would be followed by the closing chapter (34), the present situation, thus rounding the work nicely. All the illustrations and diagrams are well chosen and enhance the book's worth, though it would be well to have more of the small illustrations like Figs. 33 (page 135), 35 (page 148), 36 (page 149), and 91 (page 363). These little sketches are very necessary. In reading the book one finds the chapters so interesting that comparison of their merits is rather difficult. Perhaps attention might be called to chapter 6, Sensation-time; chapter 11, a brief, clear, excellent discussion of Rhythm; chapter 16, a skillful survey of an important field, voluntary fatigue; chapter 20, a careful analysis of the pressure-sense; the thorough study of sound in chapter 23, and the fine treatment of a difficult theme, color, in chapter 24. Entirely too brief is chapter 21, on so important a topic as Pain. Why not insert here an illustration of Cattell's algometer? More space, secured by abbreviating familiar themes like reaction-time (chapter 8), should be given to chapter 22 on Feelings, an extremely

promising field of research. In chapters 25–30, Standards of Time, Bodily Space, Tactual, Monocular, Monocular and Bodily, and Binocular Space, the author's experimental enthusiasm and literary skill show, perhaps, better than elsewhere, and he here comes close to the practical usefulness of a laboratory manual. His book, however, does not profess or attempt to meet the need so beautifully supplied by Dr. E. C. Sanford's *Course in Experimental Psychology*, issued in 1895. The various useful features of Dr. Scripture's work are self-evident, and some details, many pleasant and a few, perchance, not so, might be mentioned. The author's full name, not E. W., should appear on the title-page. The footnotes are terse, accurate, and discriminating, but that on page 29 should be omitted, being what Hegel decries as an "external reflexion." And why not relieve us all of the distressing memories implicated in the footnote references on pages 139, 181, 199, 282, 320, 324, 372, and in the sentence closing the first paragraph at the top of page 472, by omitting all these? The book as a whole certainly fills a place in this useful series of manuals, and will do much to further an intelligent understanding of this thriving science, whose audacious achievements, chastened with a thorough reverence for the truth, have so quickly won it a permanent place in our best universities. The work also reflects the careful spirit of the venerable university whence it came, though the references to the Yale laboratory, valuable as its labors are, do seem somewhat numerous. Full recognition, however, is courteously given to other laboratories. A tone of candor and modesty pervades the book which ought to soon find a place in many libraries. The possibilities of exact experiment in ethical and religious fields are suggested by the author (footnote, page 293). The new psychology has already corroborated the testimony of the saints, of the martyrs, and of the militant faithful, as Dr. Starbuck's researches at Clark University show. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Dr. Scripture's book will arouse our own wealthy laymen to meet our opportunities in this mental Klondike. Instead of following far in the rear of the thirteen State universities and the twenty-three Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregational institutions which at the present writing have this equipment, we should be triumphantly leading them. For experimental psychology is really a phase of that experimental Christianity which is called Methodism, and it is humiliating to learn that in our fifty-seven collegiate institutions only one, Wesleyan, has this equipment.

The Place of Death in Evolution. By NEWMAN SMYTH. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Our readers know what to expect from this author. We let his book speak for itself through some of its own words taken from here and there: "Partial and hurried efforts have been made in recent years to set our primal faiths in their large vital connections. Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and Kidd's *Social Evolution* are stimulating efforts in this direction; but the value of these first endeav-

ors lies in their true apprehension of the work needing to be done rather than in their permanent contribution to its solution." "The one theological task which waits to be accomplished is a thorough and comprehensive demonstration of the fact, which the disciple of old perceived, that the Life was manifested in the Christ; and hence it will prove that his essential words meet and match the great principles of life which have been hid in nature's heart from the beginning. It will be shown how naturally, and as the appointed heir of all things, Christianity wins and wears the crown of life." In the new light which science is shedding "we shall see coming out again more clearly and more surely the simple and immortal faiths of our human hearts and homes." "The sturdier thinkers among recent evolutionists are not swallowed up in the bog of materialism. . . . Mr. Wallace gets clear across the Serbonian bog, and reaches firm, high ground on which to build man's moral and spiritual faiths, when, in the closing chapter of his *Darwinism*, he holds that his interpretation of the evidence enables us to 'accept the spiritual nature of man as not in any way inconsistent with the theory of evolution, but as dependent on those fundamental laws and causes which furnish the very materials for evolution to work with.' And Romanes's *Life and Letters*, together with his *Thoughts on Religion*, show how the way may be opened and traversed by a persistent reasoner from an abandoned mechanical theism, along a path of strictly scientific thought, toward a high and clear faith in the One omnipresent Mind, in which alone the universe, as ordered and reasonable whole, can find its ultimate explanation." Clerk Maxwell's keen philosophic hit at the mechanical explanation of thought and feeling is quoted: "The atoms are a very tough lot and can stand a great deal of knocking about, and it is strange to find a number of them combining to form a man of feeling;" as is also the final conclusion of that same typically scientific mind: "I have looked into most philosophical systems, and have seen none that will work without a God." The authors of that remarkable book, the *Unseen Universe*, written by physicists who drew their reasonings mainly from the facts and hypotheses of modern physics, came to this conclusion with regard to life in its connection with matter: "We maintain that what we are driven to is not an under-life resident in the atom; but rather, to adopt the words of a recent writer, a divine over-life in which we live, and move, and have our being." John Fiske is constrained by modern science to believe in immortality as "a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work." The scientific placing of man upon the throne as the head of creation, the goal toward which all things, the ages through, have moved, is described in Mr. Fiske's words: "That which the pre-Copernican astronomy naïvely thought to do by placing the home of man in the center of the physical universe, the Darwinian biology profoundly accomplishes by exhibiting man as the terminal fact in that stupendous process whereby things have come to be what they are. In the deepest sense it is as true as it ever was held to be that the world was made for

man, and that the bringing forth in him of those qualities which we call highest and holiest is the final cause of creation." And the further reasoning is that "he who regards man as the consummate fruit of creative energy, and the chief object of divine care, is almost irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with the present life upon the earth." On the basis of views given by modern science the author argues concerning the entrance and use of Death in nature, the biological and the biblical view of Death, the method of positive benevolence in the law of death, and the final discharge of Death.

The Poetical Works of Robert Browning. In two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 748, 784. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, $3.50.

This will attract and suit those who wish something between the many-volumed editions and the Cambridge edition, which is complete in one volume. It is in sightly and serviceable form, has portraits, a general index, and also an index to first lines of shorter poems and songs. The "Editor's Note" is signed by Augustine Birrell. The volumes contain all of Browning's regularly published poems, from "Pauline" (1833), to "Asolando" (1889), arranged as nearly as practicable in chronological order. To some of the poems are prefixed explanations of the characters and events depicted and described, and here and there are explanations of the meaning of such word as might, if left unexplained, momentarily arrest the understanding of the reader. Upon "Pauline," which was published when he was only twenty years old, Browning seems, in his prefaces, unnecessarily severe. He calls it an adventure of juvenile haste and heat, written at a time when good draughtsmanship and right handling were far beyond him; and says he retains with great repugnance what has been an eyesore to himself. The public are glad to have it retained, because, as Birrell writes, it contains many passages of splendor and extreme beauty, which gave rich promise of the harvests of after years.

Poets and Problems. By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE. 12mo, pp. 392. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The author, who has previously written of Emerson's life, writings, and philosophy, and of George Eliot's as well, and furnished a guide-book to the works of Robert Browning, now gives us this volume about Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning. He writes not as a fault-finding critic, but in enthusiastic appreciation and enjoyment of what is best in each, aiming to interpret the thought and spirit of the Victorian era in England as they appear in the works of these three great representative masters in literature. He thinks critics have too long acted as the vultures of literature, rending and devouring, but rejoices that a better spirit is arising, bringing in a criticism which is broad, generous, constructive, and inspiring. His first chapter is on "The Poet as a Teacher." In writing of Ruskin the following expression of indignation at petty pecking critics is quoted from *Fors Clavigera:* "Because," says Ruskin, "I have

passed my life in almsgiving, not in fortune-hunting; because I have labored always for the honor of others, not my own, and have chosen rather to make men look to Turner and Luini, than to form or exhibit the skill of my own hand; because I have lowered my rents and assured the comfortable lives of my poor tenants, instead of taking from them all I could force for the roofs they needed; because I love a wood walk better than a London street, and would rather watch a sea gull fly than shoot it, and rather hear a thrush sing than eat it; finally, because I never disobeyed my mother, and because I have honored all women with solemn worship, and have been kind even to the unkind and evil; therefore the hacks of English art and literature wag their heads at me, and the poor wretch who pawns the dirty linen of his soul daily for a bottle of sour wine and a cigar talks of the effeminate sentimentality of Ruskin." Perhaps Ruskin's most conspicuous service is to art. In "Laws of Fiesole" he indicates in a sentence what is necessary for the development of true art: "I have endeavored to teach through my past life that this fair tree Igdrasil of human art can only flourish when its dew is affection; its air, devotion; the rock of its roots, patience; and its sunshine, God."

The Golden Treasury of American Songs and Lyrics. Edited by FREDERIC LAWRENCE KNOWLES. 12mo, pp. 319. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mr. Knowles has aimed to gather into this dainty and elegant volume such American lyrics as are best worthy of preservation and are most likely to live by their inherent merit. There is evidence that the whole field has been searched and sifted, and the selection decided upon shows an exceptionally fine critical judgment, a delicate poetic sense which knows the real quality of verse. The editor adopts the chronological method of arrangement, and remarks that the first book might be called the book of Bryant; the second, of Longfellow; and the third, of Aldrich. We note that the younger and later poets are not excluded, and we particularly welcome what is given us of T. W. Parsons, E. R. Sill, Sidney Lanier, R. W. Gilder, Emily Dickinson, Bliss Carman, and Henry Van Dyke. For the cultivation of a true taste, for diffusing sweetness and light in a home, for the family library, for use in giving select readings, or as a gift to a friend we commend this as a choice and engaging book.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life and Letters of George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Written and edited by his wife. 8vo, pp. 360. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

Not a few minds have found this the most interesting biography of the past five years. Romanes, who died in 1894, at the age of forty-six, was a biologist of distinction, to some extent a colaborer with Darwin, and possibly the most brilliant of the younger scientific men of the United Kingdom. Beginning with an evangelic faith in early life, he

drifted after a while into skepticism and agnosticism, but gradually felt his way back again to the old foundations, where he settled with a faith firmer, because more intelligent, than he began with. The story of this experience, well told from start to finish, and largely in his own letters, gives to the volume its interest. We cannot but regard the narrative as having possibilities of great usefulness to many thoughtful and troubled minds. Strongly religious quite early in life, the boy inclined to prepare for "holy orders," but received no encouragement, although his father was a clergyman. The effect of his university life is thus stated: "He entered Cambridge, half-educated, utterly untrained, with no knowledge of men or of books. He left it, to all intents and purposes, a trained worker and earnest thinker, with his lifework begun." Any good college will do that for almost any boy who applies himself. Natural science fascinated him, and his wife says that none ever served the cause of science with more passionate and whole-hearted devotion—"All for love and nothing for reward." Partly by his specialty, his friendships ran largely with scientific and skeptical circles, including men like Darwin, Haeckel, Herbert Spencer, and G. H. Lewes. Romanes and George Eliot discussed together the comparative merits of the King James version of the Psalms and the Prayer Book version; both preferred the former. In 1873 Romanes took the Burney Prize with an essay on "Christian Prayer and General Laws," and was hailed as a champion of the faith. In 1876 he published a book entitled *A Candid Examination of Theism*, which argued that man is shut up to the light given by science, and can know nothing more. In the darkness where his conclusions left him he wrote, "I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness;" and, further, "When at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it, at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is capable." Darwin, after reading the *Candid Examination*, wrote Romanes a letter, in which is Darwin's notion of what a theologian might say in reply to that book; and Darwin says that he, for his part, would not know how to refute the theologian, which is equivalent to telling Romanes that his argument cannot stand. The sensitive soul of Romanes went through years of conflict between faith and disbelief. But he came to see the impossibility of a purely materialistic position, and, pondering on the ultimate mysteries, on God, immortality, duty, he was driven back to the Christian position. Some of the difficulties which troubled Romanes in relation to the Bible are thus referred to by his friend Canon Gore: "The obstacles to belief on the side of science were gone when once it was admitted that God, who has revealed to us his nature and ours, and made this revelation in part through a historical process and in the literature of a nation, has yet, and for obvious reasons, given us no revelation at all on matters which fall within the domain of scien-

tific research. A similar removal of obstacles is seen in the region of historical criticism. There, again, it has become apparent that, whatever turns out true about this or that Old Testament narrative, no question really vital to the Christian religion can be said to be at stake in this field; while in the region of the New Testament the most sifting criticism has had a result emphatically reassuring. The critical evidence justifies, or more than justifies, the belief of the Church, which is expressed in her creeds." In 1878 Romanes had reached the bottom of unbelief, and considered a return impossible to him. A large number of letters passed between Darwin and Romanes, many of which are printed in this book. We learn that Darwin was extremely fond of novels, and had a custom of offering his guests books to take to bed with them. Romanes was always in favor of making children familiar with the Bible for educational reasons, because, "as a mere matter of literary education everyone ought to be familiar with the Bible from beginning to end." He was passionately fond of music. His favorite composer was Beethoven. He had more respect and enthusiasm for Arthur Balfour, both as a politician and as a thinker, than for any other man in public life. In a conversation with J. R. Green, the historian, it was agreed that Spencer, Huxley, and Leslie Stephen give a one-sided and inadequate account of morality. In fiction he preferred pure, simple love stories. From 1880 to 1890 he held always in his mind the question, "Is Christian faith possible or intellectually justifiable in the face of scientific discovery?" In a letter to Professor Asa Gray he shows that his face is turning longingly toward the light: he speaks of a desire to worship God. It is noteworthy that in his years of disbelief and darkness he did not cease to go to church; and, in his own house, himself conducted an evening service for servants and for guests who were prevented from going to church. No doubt this helps to explain why he came right at last; he had not removed himself from religious associations. He never doubted the beauty and moral worth of Christianity; his only difficulty was over the question of its reasonableness. Even when his difficulties were at their worst he none the less wished his boy's character to be fashioned after the Christian type and under the influence of Christ. His wife says a sudden bereavement pushed him toward faith. In 1889 he delivered an address at Toynbee Hall on "The Ethical Teaching of Christ," which shows that the glory of the Lord was breaking on him. Late in the eighties he falls advantageously into correspondence with Professor Joseph Le Conte, of the University of California, and the Rev. J. Gulick, an American missionary in Japan. In 1892 sickness, threatened blindness, and much suffering came upon him. The following words in a letter from his friend Canon Scott-Holland touched him deeply: "It is a tremendous moment when first one is called upon to join the great army of those who suffer. That vast world of love and pain opens suddenly to admit us one by one within its fortress. We are afraid to enter, yet you, I know,

will feel how high is the call. It is as a trumpet speaking to us that cries aloud: 'It is your turn—endure. Play your part. As they endured before you, so now, close up the ranks—be patient and strong as they were!' Since Christ, this world of pain is no accident untoward or sinister, but a lawful department of life, with experiences, interests, adventures, hopes, delights, secrets of its own. These are all thrown open to us as we pass within the gates—things that we could never learn or know or see, so long as we were well. God help you to walk through this world now opened to you as through a kingdom, regal and wide and glorious!" Romanes was always pure and upright in his personal conduct, and sincere in heart. At the end of life he condemned himself only for what he called sins of the intellect, mental arrogance, undue regard for intellectual supremacy. On one of his last days he went to church in the morning and partook of the holy communion. Later in that day he said, "I have now come to see that faith is intellectually justifiable;" and in a moment he added, "It is Christianity or nothing." He spent his last strength in writing an answer to demolish his own *Candid Examination of Theism;* that answer, which he left somewhat incomplete in the hands of Canon Gore, has since been published under the title *Thoughts on Religion*, noticed by us some time ago in these pages.

The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome. By RODOLFO LANCIANI, D.C.L. Oxford, LL.D. Harvard. Crown 8vo, pp. 619. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

In this latest book the professor of ancient topography in the University of Rome extends the service rendered in his *Ancient Rome in The Light of Recent Discoveries*, his *Pagan and Christian Rome*, and his other similar writings, all of them products of his lifelong research. It includes the most recent discoveries, and is intended as a companion-book for students and travelers who visit the existing remains and study the latest excavations of ancient Rome. The spoils now dispersed in the museums of Rome, Italy, and the rest of Europe are traced back to their place of origin or discovery, the reader being informed what these spoils are, when they were carried away, and where they are to be found at present. The more than two hundred illustrations are mostly original, from drawings and photographs prepared expressly for this work. The remains of ancient Rome can be studied from the chronological, the topographical, and the architectural point of view. The chronological, beginning with the remains of the kingly period, passes on through those of the republic, the empire, and the Byzantine and mediæval periods, showing the progress of Roman architecture from the rude attempts of Etruscan masons to the golden centuries of Agrippa and Apollodorus; as well as the evolution of architectural types from the round straw hut where the public fire was kept to the marble temple of Hestia roofed with tiles of bronze; from the *Casa Romuli* to the *Domus Aurea* of Nero. The topographical studies the ancient city in sections,

taking one by one the fourteen wards or regions into which Rome was divided by Augustus. The architectural groups the monuments in classes, as temples, baths, tombs, bridges, etc. Professor Lanciani, in this book, adopts a mixed scheme. In Book I the fundamental lines of Roman topography are described—site, geology, configuration of soil, malaria, climate, rivers, and springs, aqueducts and drains, walls and roads. Book II describes the Palatine hill on which the city was founded and the seat of the empire established later. Book III describes the Sacra Via from its origin near the Coliseum to its end near the Capitolium. The Sacra Via, the Forum, and the Capitoline hill, containing the oldest relics of kingly and republican Rome, as well as the grandest monuments of the empire, have been mostly excavated since 1870. Book IV deals with the rest of the city, following largely the wards of Augustus, and showing each of those sections to have had a characteristic of its own; the Cælian being the region of barracks, the Esquiline the region of parks, the Quiriual and Aventine the abode of the aristocracy, while the greater portion was occupied by the Coliseum and its dependencies, and the Trastavere was the popular quarter *par excellence*. A complete index adds value to the book, which is not a mere handbook of topography, but contains a variety of interesting information. It appears that house rent was pretty high in old Rome, as in Athens. In Athens there were many lodging houses, erected as investments and paying about nine per cent on the purchase money or cost. The annual rental of a certain banker's house was $2,000; and rents varied from $60 to $2,400 a year. Rent was paid by the month. In Rome rent was equally expensive. In the time of Julius Cæsar persons of the poorest class had to pay $85 a year for the most wretched rooms; and for the rent of the third floor of a house belonging to Publius Clodius $1,300 was paid by Cœlius. In one ancient city there was a law that no man should erect a house so high or so placed as to shut off his neighbor's view of the sea. A law indicative of much! Almost suggestive enough to be the motto for an essay or the text for a sermon!

The Life of Mrs. Sarah A. Lankford Palmer. By JOHN A. ROCHE, M.D., D.D. With an Introduction by Bishop JOHN P. NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 286. New York: George Hughes & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The author of this book became late in life a biographer, not by his own motion or intention. At Dr. Curry's request he prepared for the *Methodist Review* a sketch of Dr. Durbin. That sketch impressed the Wilmington, Philadelphia, and New York East Conferences with the conviction that the writer thereof ought to expand it into a volume in order that the Church might possess the written life of one of her most gifted and useful sons, from a sympathetic and thoroughly competent hand. Urged by the request of those Conferences, Dr. Roche undertook that work, the completion of which, in 1889, crowned his honorable life with almost its highest achievement. It is gratifying to record that Roche's

biography of Durbin receives from the Church the high appreciation which it justly merits. Having demonstrated a surprising aptitude for such work, it is not strange that he should be desired for a similar service in the case of Mrs. Lankford Palmer. The book before us is a beautiful illustration, both in its subject, who lived actively past ninety years, and in its author, who wrote it when past eighty, of the ancient promise, "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age." Concerning the subject of this memoir Bishop Newman writes that among the professors of personal holiness whom he has known she "was, all things considered, the most perfect illustration of that blessed truth with which her name will be forever associated and whose home was consecrated to the advancement of the central truth of Christianity." The founder in 1835 of what has been known for over sixty years as the Tuesday Meeting, she, with Dr. W. C. Palmer and Mrs. Phœbe Palmer, conducted its services and drew together from all denominations kindred spirits, hungering and thirsting after righteousness unto the fullness thereof. With such spirits Dr. Roche's sympathy is as close and intelligent as with the spirit of the great preacher, the marvelously eloquent Durbin. It was this same biographer, who wrote for the *Ladies Repository* in 1866 the sketch of Mrs. Phœbe Palmer, sister of Mrs. Lankford Palmer, and equally eminent for piety and entire devotion. Doubtless the life of Madame Guyon, prepared and published by Mr. Wesley, imparted at the beginning an impulse to such holy living as was seen in Lady Maxwell, Mrs. Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, and many others equally consecrated though not so well known. The history of Methodism has been enriched and sweetened by the lives of holy women not a few who, feeling themselves called to be saints, gave earnest diligence to make their calling sure, pressing toward the mark for the prize of their high calling. In his *Life of John P. Durbin*, Dr. Roche, with correct sketching and rich coloring, showed the ideals of Christian preaching as actualized in Durbin; in the present volume he shows the ideals of Christian womanhood actualized in Sarah Lankford Palmer. Not only the life and work of his subject, but the peculiar and prominent place of holiness in the history and teachings of Methodism, as well as the justification therefor, is discussed somewhat at length, but in perfect coherence, by the author, his statements being well guarded, judicious, and scriptural. We find no trace of fanaticism in what he writes. In excellent harmony with this are the remarks of Dr. Asbury Lowrey, at the sixtieth anniversary of the Tuesday Meeting, pages 197–202, being characterized by clearness, solidity, sound sense, and good taste, as is also his discriminatingly analytic tribute written after her death, and found on page 239, which closes thus: "In genuine goodness and deep spirituality she was not exceeded by any woman, so far as I know, in the history of Methodism. Her long career of ninety years was a streak of holy sunshine. She was a deposit of salt in the city of New York and a jewel in its Methodism."

Nothing that Dr. Roche records in the life of Mrs. Lankford Palmer is more remarkable than is the achievement, in his own life, of writing this volume in his eighty-fifth year. Nobly beautiful to us as a spectacle, and sweetly satisfying to him as a final task, must be the sitting down of a godly and honored minister who has preached the Gospel for sixty years to devote the last strength of his life in portraying the fruits of the Gospel in a saintly woman's character and life. The far-off nerves of the fingers failed a little before his task was done, but the vigorous brain worked with precision and steadiness to the last line ; in proof of which read his closing paragraph: "Behold, admire, and imitate! In Mrs. Palmer consider an intelligence worthy the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, a soul of capacity for which the Holy Ghost alone was sufficient, and in her contemplate the culminating glory of God's finished work in Nature and in Grace—A WOMAN!" This book has the pathetic and sacred dignity which belongs to the last grand effort of an aspiring life.

MISCELLANEOUS.

If Jesus Came to Boston. By E. E. HALE. 8vo, pp. 45. Boston: Lamson, Wolffe & Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This book is not new, but its point is as pertinent as ever. It is in effect an antidote to the overdone pessimism of W. T. Stead's book, *If Christ Came to Boston.* It brings to view a few of the facts which show that Christ's plans have not failed so utterly as some represented, but are rather being carried on successfully and blessedly in many places, by many loyal disciples, through manifold forms of relieving, saving, and uplifting effort. It points out that Chicago, Boston, and other cities have other things to show besides hells and slums and dives—besides opium, gambling, adultery, and murder. Jesus and Dr. Primrose walking about Boston find a great deal that is Christlike and heavenly, some of it in the worst surroundings, and much work of salvation going on. Down on the South Cove, where a Salvation Army lassie was scrubbing the floor and putting in order a poor sick woman's third-story room, Dr. Primrose heard the Lord say something about the difference between the sort of people who lay hand to the work and do the duty themselves, and that other sort who commission somebody else to appoint other people who shall select yet other folks to find some one who can be induced to go and do the duty.

In the Permanent Way. By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mrs. Steel is well known by several previous books: *Tales of the Punjab*, a collection of Indian stories taken down by her from the lips of the natives in some of the most primitive parts of that country; *Red Rowans*, a sweet and delicate love story; *The Flower of Forgiveness*, another volume of stories showing the poetic side of the Hindu's nature and the tragedy

of humble sacrifice and helpless pain in native Indian life; *Miss Stuart's Legacy*, a story of British life in India; and most of all by that glowing, thrilling, and lurid story of the great mutiny against British rule, entitled *On the Face of the Waters.* This volume, just published, contains nineteen stories of Indian character and experience, averaging twenty pages each, in the same taking style as the previous volumes. They work up materials from the same world as Rudyard Kipling's earlier writings made familiar to us.

The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge. By JOHN FISKE. 16mo, pp. 171. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

This small but solid book is in its seventeenth thousand. One sweet Sunday morning the author sat under an apple tree on a hillside with his wife and talked of the things now written here. Fourteen brief chapters treat of the "Difficulty of Expressing the Idea of God so that it can be Readily Understood," "The Rapid Growth of Modern Knowledge," "Sources of the Theistic Idea," "Development of Monotheism," "The Idea of God as Immanent in the World," "The Idea of God as Remote from the World," "Conflict Between the Two Ideas," "Anthropomorphic Conceptions of God," "The Argument from Design," "Simile of the Watch Replaced by the Simile of the Flower," "The Craving for a Final Cause," "Symbolic Conceptions," "The Eternal Source of Phenomena," "The Power that Makes for Righteousness." The author says the knell of Augustinian theism has sounded, to be followed by a general adoption of the Athanasian or cosmic form of theism. Fiske is the American interpreter of Darwinianism, and applies its principles through the whole range of thought.

Outlines in Local Color. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. 12mo, pp. 240. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Somewhat like the author's *Vignettes of Manhattan*, this is a collection of short stories presenting glimpses of significant and contrasting phases of New York life. Here are studies of curious social conditions and representative types of character, the kind of people seen at the horse show, domestic servants, the poor homeless woman on the park benches in Union Square, the theatrical world, with some pathetic pictures of the darker side of life in the great metropolis. They have such titles as "A Glimpse of the Under World," "A Wall Street Wooing," "A Spring Flood in Broadway," "In the Watches of the Night," "The Solo Orchestra," "A Candle in the Plate."

A Concise History of Missions. By EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS, D.D., Editor of *The Encyclopedia of Missions.* Narrow 12mo, pp. 321. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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George R Crooks

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1898.

ART. I.—GEORGE RICHARD CROOKS.

METHODISM has produced few such men as George Richard Crooks. He was born in Philadelphia February 3, 1822. The atmosphere of his birthplace had proved congenial to the doctrines of Methodism, and the times were replete with many of the greatest names in the history of the Church. The heroic days were not yet passed. Asbury had been dead less than six years, and the story of his matchless life was the charm of many a fireside gathering. Soule, Cooper, Hedding, Waugh, George, and Fisk were approaching their prime, and were soon to be leaders in the Church. Hamline was just coming into prominence, while Morris, Durbin, Simpson, and Ames were shortly to make their way to the front. McClintock was a boyhood companion, and Milburn a fellow-townsman. What a time was this for an impressionable soul in Methodism! Early in his career Crooks fell under the charm of some of these majestic personalities, and he bore their impress to the end.

His boyhood days were spent in the city of his birth. When duly fitted he entered Dickinson College, from which he graduated with the highest honors in 1840. At this point there comes into view a life which for intellectual and moral earnestness has had few equals and no superiors in Methodism. As we trace its masterly influence we shall be led into the wide ramifications of the Church's life and thought.

The first year after his graduation young Crooks traveled a circuit in Illinois, at that time the extreme frontier. But the Church had other work for him to do. In those days Methodism had few men who had received a classical education. The

professors at Dickinson had noted the strong scholarly bent of this young man, and so in 1842 he was called by his *alma mater* to the position of classical and mathematical instructor in the Collegiate Grammar School. In 1843 he was elected principal of the Grammar School, and in 1846 he was made adjunct professor of Latin and Greek in the college. This position gave him the opportunity to pursue his scholarly tastes, and he laid the foundations broad and deep. These were days of splendid activity, and bore rich fruitage for the Church. In the mind of the young professor the poverty of distinctively Methodist literature was a reflection upon the intellectual life of the Church, and thus early in his career he determined to do his part to remove the stigma. Conjointly with Dr. McClintock he issued a series of Latin and Greek text-books, and a little later he and Professor A. J. Schem published a Latin-English school lexicon still used in our colleges and universities. During these years he also made an analysis of Butler's *Analogy*, which has been of great value to students of that now historic book.

Shortly after beginning his work at Dickinson he was admitted to the Philadelphia Conference. In 1848, following a conviction of duty, he resigned at Dickinson and entered the work of the pastorate. With marked ability he served several of the most influential churches in his Conference. His fame as a preacher reached New York, and in 1857 he was transferred to the New York East Conference and stationed at Seventeenth Street Church, then one of the strongest in the connection. His services were in demand constantly for great occasions, and his good name was in all the churches. He served until 1870 a number of the leading appointments in the New York East Conference. As a preacher he was a model worthy of careful study by the men of to-day. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of Methodism. He was thoroughly loyal to her doctrines and polity. His loyalty, however, was not of the blindly narrow and bigoted type. He insisted that bigotry was foreign to the very genius of our Church and that, properly understood, Methodism gave room for the truest catholicity. His pulpit style was a combination of thoughtful instruction and fiery eloquence. The scholarly and prophetic

elements were found in noble balance. The one gave content, the other force, to his message. The fire peculiar to early Methodism burned in his heart and flashed in his eye. He was fluent, incisive, impassioned, electric.

> His tongue was framed to music,
> And his hand was armed with skill;
> His face was the mold of beauty,
> And his heart the throne of will.

Before turning from the discussion of this period of his life other important facts should be noted. The Philadelphia Conference never did itself greater honor nor served the Church more truly than when it sent Dr. Crooks as one of its delegates to the General Conference of 1856. He was a member of the Committee on Education, and through his instrumentality an action was secured which was most vital to the welfare of the Church. The spirit of the Church at large was unfriendly to the theological training of its preachers. The distinction was sharply drawn between God-made and man-made ministers. "He who calls will qualify," was the faith of most Methodists. As late as 1853 Dr. James Strong printed in the New York *Advocate* an appeal for a Methodist theological seminary. The proposition was widely and severely criticised. Dr. Thomas E. Bond, the editor, declared himself as unalterably opposed to it. But the General Conference of 1856 was made the occasion of a vigorous agitation of the question. The friends of the higher ministerial qualifications were rallied; public meetings were held; able advocates of the movement were enlisted. Dr. Crooks was its ardent and successful leader. With the cooperation of Dr. Edward Thomson, Dr. John Dempster, and others he secured the adoption of a resolution sanctioning the establishment of theological seminaries in our Church. Thus the sentiment was turned which with the advance of the years has crystallized in a well-nigh universal demand for an educated ministry. This cause lay ever near the heart of Dr. Crooks. He had a high ideal of culture for the ministry, and he could not rest unless something was being done to lead the ministry up to that ideal. In 1866, as a member of the Special Centennial Committee on Education, he originated a plan to establish a permanent fund for the educa-

tion of the youth of Methodism, which fund should receive the offerings of the children of the Church and be repeated in all coming years. His associates on the committee were John McClintock, Daniel Curry, Oliver Hoyt, James Bishop, and C. C. North. The outcome was Children's Day.

A proper estimate of the lifework of Dr. Crooks must pay special attention to that portion of his career covering the years 1860 to 1875. During these years he was editor of *The Methodist*, from 1860 to 1869 serving at the same time as pastor of a church. To trace the influences which led to the founding of *The Methodist* would take us too far afield. We may say, however, that the movement aroused the bitterest opposition. The officialism of the Church, then as always powerful and autocratic, frowned its blackest frown. The plan for an independent paper was denounced as a "crime against the Church," but it was the crystallization of a strong, intelligent sentiment which prevailed widely among both laymen and ministers. Its immediate and phenomenal success was the demonstration of the need of such an organ. Lay representation was to be the chief principle promoted, but other issues were to be introduced and advocated as their importance demanded. Of all men in the Church at that time Dr. Crooks was the logical choice for editor-in-chief. The intense opposition to the movement which would have terrified many only put him on his mettle. Of fear he had none. A radical in temperament and yet with conservative principles, he was just the man for the hour. The intensity of his convictions would render him an ardent advocate, the great versatility of his gifts a powerful opponent; yet he was ever too much the man to lose his head, and too much the gentleman to stoop to mere personalities. These were stormy times in both Church and nation. The fate of both hung in the balance.

As if by magic *The Methodist* sprang immediately into a position of national influence and importance. The public marveled at the ability with which the new enterprise was conducted. Here was a man taken from the ranks of the Methodist ministry who showed a talent amounting to genius in the conduct of a great weekly newspaper. He brought to his position the instinct of a great editor, and his comprehensive

grasp enabled him to summarize the world's news in such manner as to attract the immediate attention of the intelligent public. The faultlessness of his judgment was shown, too, in the character of the men whom he gathered about him as assistant editors and contributors. Some of these names have since become historic in the annals of American journalism. On the list we find the names of David Judd, for many years editor of the *American Agriculturist;* Professor W. H. Larrabee, now on the staff of *The Popular Science Monthly;* S. Cushman Caldwell, for twenty-seven years the able editor of *The New York Weekly Tribune;* Dr. Henry K. Carroll, of *The Independent;* and St. Clair McKelway, the distinguished editor-in-chief of *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle.* Upon the publication of the sixth number of *The Methodist* one of the leading dailies of New York city made the following editorial comment:

> This new weekly has reached the sixth number. It has thus far been conducted with unusual spirit and talent. Its editorials are brilliant and fresh, treating mostly of topics of actual interest, and with a vigorous, practical upshot. It may challenge comparison in this respect with the best papers of the country. It is especially catholic in its tone, as well as conservative, maintaining well the dignity and liberality which befit both its religious character and the high intellectual standard of its conductors. As a newspaper proper it is unsurpassed among weekly periodicals. . . . In fine, this publication has stepped at once into the first rank of our religious journalism. If real merit can secure patronage it must become a splendid success.

Fully launched *The Methodist* grew in favor, and soon became known as a forum for free and open debate. Truth was the *dictum* of every discussion, an uncompromising spirit of fairness the method of every procedure. The paper was firm in its convictions, and yet counseled moderation and toleration —a most important policy in such troublous times. Dr. Crooks supported President Lincoln in his conservative and pacific measures, but when the crisis came he was fairly consumed with the spirit of patriotism.

The Church owes him a large debt of gratitude for the influence he exerted upon the Methodists of the border States. He really saved that portion of the country to the Church and to the Union. An effort was made so to construe the action of the General Conference of 1860 as to

deprive of Church membership all those Methodists in the border States who owned slaves. Now, Dr. Crooks despised slavery as an institution, but in the interests of fairness he strenuously opposed this interpretation of the action of the General Conference, and earnestly counseled forbearance on both sides. He clearly foresaw that the loss of this portion of the Church to the Methodism of the North meant the loss of these States to the Union. Thus the question was of national importance, and great was the service he rendered.

Without offensively intruding the matter of the controversy touching the management of the Book Concern, be it said truthfully that the attitude of Dr. Crooks upon the subject has passed into history as alike honorable to himself and to the Church. A paragraph from an editorial in the New York *Advocate* immediately following his death is in point:

> The truth of history requires the statement that had *The Methodist* not been in existence it is unlikely that the Church would have been aroused to the necessity of probing the matter to the bottom, or of introducing safeguards equally necessary for the protection of property and for defense against misunderstanding or false or exaggerated accusations against the management.

But while these issues came in for their fair share of attention the main principle was never forgotten. The cause of lay representation, so dear to the heart of Dr. Crooks, was kept continually before the minds of the people. The laymen of our Church owe more to him than to any other one man for their present position of influence and their prospective position of equality in the control of the Church's affairs. His habit of careful observation and wide research rendered him a peculiarly able advocate of this measure. His exhaustive study of Church history led him to believe that a large proportion of the evils of the past had come from that false view of the nature of the Church itself which regards it as an exclusive heritage for the lordly domination and ownership of priests and parsons. His view was removed the farthest possible distance from this. "The Church of God," said he, "is not an estate to be carved out among the ministry." Protestantism and sacerdotalism to his mind were utterly incompatible. He believed that the laity should share equally

with the ministry in Church control and administration. He grounded the claim upon the broadest principles, resting it philosophically upon both the reason and the expediency of the case, and scripturally upon the great doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers.

We sometimes wonder that Dr. Crooks entered so largely into the controversial life of his times. He was a sensitive nature with fine perceptions and wide classic learning. Many a man of his character and attainments would have retired to the pursuit of culture for culture's sake. That this would have been congenial to his tastes none who knew him will deny. But his deep moral earnestness forbade the entertainment of such a thought. With the fullness of his vast information and the vigor of his splendid powers he threw himself into the rough-and-tumble of Church and national life with the spirit of an athlete. It was his to become repeatedly the champion of ideas which were unpopular at the time. For this reason he was not always fully appreciated by his contemporaries, but this generation and others yet unborn will render him his high meed of praise. For the word "policy" he had no use. It was not found in his vocabulary. For him the siren voices of popular approval and ecclesiastical preferment had no charms. The unessentials he flung to the winds, while the vital and the permanent held him spellbound. Whether an idea was popular made no difference. Was it right? Did its adoption involve some important interest of the Church or of truth? If so, he became at once its living embodiment. This type of men have been the saviours of Methodism in the past, and in such is the hope of her future. All honor to one so conspicuous for this rare virtue. We may say of Dr. Crooks, as he said of Dr. McClintock:

> He was a broad man living among men of a much narrower range of thought; a farseeing man, working with men who were not far-sighted; a man thirsting for knowledge, dwelling among associates who were suspicious that large knowledge must necessarily contract doctrinal taint, and yet he kept in touch with them all. His cordiality disarmed opposition, his purity of purpose inspired confidence, and his patience did the rest. He could bear, and he could wait; he could bear to be buffeted, and yet hold on his way; his plans were larger than one man or one life could execute, but they have borne the test of time.

We have thus found that the tracing of the influence of Dr. Crooks has necessitated the discussion of the great contemporaneous movements in the life of the Church. It is doubtful if any man of his generation has left a more lasting impress upon Methodism than he. When the future student of Methodist history shall ask, "Who was George R. Crooks?" the answer may confidently be given, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*"

In 1875, feeling that his work was accomplished as editor of *The Methodist*, he resigned his position. His last editorial is characteristic. In it we discern both the conscious victor and the humble servant of God and the Church. It reads in part:

> Fifteen years ago *The Methodist* made its first appearance as an independent paper, devoted to the interests of the Church whose name it bears, but none the less devoted to the interests of our common Christianity. They have been eventful years, and during them all it has been my fortune to direct its editorial management. It is to me a matter of pride that to whatever cause *The Methodist* has devoted itself it has achieved therein triumphant success. Independent journalism has been vindicated, and its importance, if not necessity, proved. From the smallest beginnings lay delegation has been carried forward to the point of its acceptance by the Church. The exasperating Book Concern controversy has been brought to a solution which has given contentment to all. Something has been done to guard the episcopacy from rash innovation; and to-day *The Methodist* is recognized as the leading advocate of the restoration of fraternal relations with our once alienated brethren. To those who know the recent history of the Church I need not say how much the paper has contributed toward these results. In all this work I have been most happily associated with colaborers, some of them gone to the better world, whose counsel, culture, and genius have been at every moment invaluable to me. I shall ever cherish the memory of these associations as among the most precious fruits of my editorial life. . . .
>
> GEORGE R. CROOKS.

Free once again from the burdens of editorial work, he felt a longing to return to the pastorate. In this fact we have a point worth noting. His position as editor of *The Methodist* had given him great prominence. His opinions had been sought by the leading men of the Church and the nation. Bishops, senators, judges, and even presidents had more than once watched eagerly to see the position he would take on great and important issues. Yet did he turn with joy to the quiet-

ness of a pastorate upon the banks of the peaceful Hudson, in that locality made immortal by the magic pen of Washington Irving. He welcomed the change under which many men in like circumstances would have chafed. But to be a worthy Methodist minister was to his mind the highest honor on earth. He never wished to be anything else. "The succeeding years were filled with pleasure for him, and afforded a calm satisfaction to the choice spirits whose intellectual and higher affinities enabled them to think and feel in unison with elevated thoughts and uplifting impulses. The tone of every church he served was purified, softened, and steadied." It would not have been strange if his editorial experience and his strong scholastic *penchant* had alienated him somewhat from the world's common life. But it was not so. Within the past year the writer was in one of the communities where Dr. Crooks served as pastor in his later years. Traditions are still alive regarding his interest in the children, his great tenderness with the sick and the dying, and his love for all. People of all religious beliefs quickly recognized him as a choice and catholic spirit, and many were those who availed themselves of the benefits of his ministry and his friendship.

When Dr. Hurst was made bishop in 1880 the eyes of the Church were immediately fixed upon Dr. Crooks as the proper man to fill the chair of historical theology in Drew Theological Seminary. In due time he was formally elected to this position, which he filled with devotion and genius during the remaining years of his life. What a thoroughness of preparation he brought to his task at Drew! Fullness, force, and finish—this is the trinity which best describes him as we knew him in those years. His versatility was a constant marvel to those who were fortunate enough to be under his instruction. It was a remark frequently heard at the seminary that he could fill any chair in the institution, and do it ably. Naturally his mind was keen and penetrating, and he supplemented nature's lavish gifts by the most scrupulous mental discipline. He was a painstaking student all his life. His information was both vast and accurate, and included many subjects. His mind grasped at once the smallest detail and the vastest system. He judged of facts and theories both in the light of their intrinsic

merits and in the light of their relationships. The sweep of his thought was like the eagle's flight. He seemed to know everything, and from every side. A competent judge has called him "our greatest scholar in either hemisphere."

He had now reached that period of life at which most men are apt to claim the right of less exacting toil. But such a thought never occurred to him. Work had become his habit and his joy. Instead of his mental force abating it seemed to increase. When men were expecting to see signs of decay his powers were only in their noonday splendor. What a picture of intellectual vigor and activity he now presents! Most carefully does he lay out and execute the work for his seminary classes. He is not only familiar with the facts of Church history, but he constructs them into a philosophy of history. Forces are traced from their origin to their culmination; influences are noted and estimated; tendencies are scrutinized, and their results balanced, until in his chosen field he becomes an acknowledged master. Special emphasis is placed upon the apostolic period, with the book of Acts as the source of information, because this is "a permanent standard for comparison and authority." Meanwhile his versatility shows itself in other forms of activity. He finds time to act as a member of the American committee for the revision of the New Testament, though his disgust at the narrowness of the policy of the committee soon leads him to offer his resignation. He writes an elaborate introduction to Matthew for the American edition of Meyer's *Commentary on the New Testament.* He undertakes and successfully carries on the editorial supervision of *The Biblical and Theological Library*, and himself prepares *The Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology* on the basis of Hagenbach. In 1876 he had written *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Dr. McClintock*, his beloved friend. Now in response to the wishes of Mrs. Simpson he prepares a volume of nearly six hundred pages entitled *The Life of Bishop Simpson*, and edits a collection of the bishop's sermons. During these years *The Story of the Christian Church* receives his careful attention. All the time he is diligently at work upon a history of Christian doctrine. This he fully outlines in his own thought, but unfortunately it is not in shape for publication. Meanwhile

he is a frequent contributor to the theological reviews and periodicals, and is one of the special writers for *Harper's Weekly*. Considering his age at this time, the perfect possession and poise of his powers is majestic. Upon the tomb of Green, the English historian, is the inscription, "He died learning." This inscription would be equally appropriate upon the tomb of George R. Crooks.

Emerson says, "The intellect dissolves fire, gravity, laws, method, and the subtlest unnamed relations of nature in its resistless menstruum." This is a fit characterization of the intellect of Dr. Crooks in the higher realms of thought. Under the magic touch of his fine analytic power great and intricate problems seemed to dissolve into natural and orderly parts. Those things which were vital came out in bold relief; those which were unessential vanished. Truth seemed eager to tell its story and to give up its deepest secrets at his call. Further and further he pushes out the boundaries of his knowledge into new and unexplored fields, adding to his already rich stock at every step of the way. Scrutinizing, analyzing, constructing, and classifying as he goes, he brings out of the treasure of his thought things new and old. He seems to have been born to think. He thought as naturally as he breathed, and he always thought clearly. He could not think confusedly. Light was the native atmosphere of his mind, and it seemed to fall in floods upon every question he took in hand. What a finished product he was! After his death he was characterized as "our Nestor of classical and ecclesiastical literature." He was that, and more. His mind was rapacious of all good literature, and he was at home anywhere. He led his students afield along the paths of poetry, fiction, travels, essays, biography, drama, and philosophy. In his knowledge of each he was an adept. From an editorial in *The New York Tribune*, entitled "The Late Dr. Crooks," we take the following extract:

> His scholarship was thorough and general. His friends were sometimes surprised at his accurate knowledge of writers and writings that they had supposed too light to have attracted him. He hated the appearance of cant—"religious slang" he called it in his instructions to his assistant—and it never appeared in his paper, no matter how eminent its parentage. *The Methodist* in his hands was an educator in pure and vigorous English.

The standard authors were his lifelong companions. The mention of their names called forth a smile suggestive of the memory of an old-time acquaintance. His wide reading and broad culture gave a classic flavor to all his utterances, whether in conversation, lecture, or sermon. He was ever the polished gentleman and scholar. Some of the greatest lessons of his life he gathered from the general field of literature. A list of his favorite books will be helpful to others. John Foster's essay on *Decision of Character* and John Stuart Blackie's *Self-Culture* were among the first which he advised young ministers to read as specially helpful in the formation of character. Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* was a book to which he loved to turn, he said, when wearied or dispirited. Fichte's *Vocation of the Scholar* he declared gave him the ideal of his intellectual life. As he one day took his well-worn volume of Hare's *Mission of the Comforter* from the shelf of his library he remarked to a friend: "That book has been next to the Bible in shaping my life as a preacher. It is a great book—a very great book." Upon Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* he made the following comment: "That was one of my boyish purchases which the wisdom of manhood approves. That book clearly marks an epoch in my life. I thank God daily for John McClintock, who introduced me to Coleridge." Then speaking of Carlyle he said, "I would rather have that volume of Coleridge than all the books Carlyle has written, and I have read everything he has ever published." Shakespeare was his favorite of the English poets, and Horace of the Latin. Indeed, he was an enthusiast for the idea that the preacher should become a master of English literature; for, said he, "No man can achieve the best success who has not a thorough knowledge of his own language." He insisted constantly upon the elevation of the standard for admission to, and graduation from, the seminary. He did not consider that the standard which had been reached was by any means permanent; he stood for continual advancement. At the conclusion of a discussion on Wordsworth before his special class in English literature at the seminary he said to a friend, "I have written the closing stanzas of Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty' in living letters upon my soul." We cease to wonder why he wrought

so nobly when we recall these words, and remember that their lofty sentiment was the guiding principle of his life:

Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face.
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,
And fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens, through
Thee, are fresh and strong.

To humbler functions, awful power,
I call thee; I myself commend
Unto thy guidance from this hour;
O let my weakness have an end!
Give unto me, made lowly wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of reason give
And in the light of truth, thy bondman, let me live.

Another great characteristic must be mentioned. It has been said:

Power in teaching is bound up with character in the teacher. Truth from a real teacher is not like water running through a marble channel which imparts no character to it. It is rather like water in a medicated cup which communicates its flavor to the liquid. A mind is not merely a receptacle for facts; it is a germ to be informed, and only life can inform with life. Formulas of truth quicken as the teacher's life pervades them.

In this respect Dr. Crooks measures up to a lofty ideal. He was removed the farthest possible distance from the mere drill-master. He informed the young manhood committed to his care with the strength and life of his own great personality. Students felt instinctively the spell of his noble manhood. He was the living embodiment of his own ideals. If a doctrine shone like a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of his intellectual thought it also throbbed in his character with all the energy of life, and came before the eyes of men concreted with the fragrance of a beautiful personality. His facts were accurate and his theories sound, but more than fact or theory was the man. He was clear and cogent in all his statements of truth whether by voice or pen, but he taught more by what he was than by what he said. "He adorned the doctrine of God." His personal appearance was striking. He

would have been picked out of any company of men. His large head, his eagle eye, his erect figure, his precise carriage, and his positive manner gave the impression of a man of unusual force of character. Till within a very few years of his death it was his custom to walk eight or ten miles every day. He loved nature in all its phases. From trees and fields, from birds and flowers, he gathered inspiration. This habit of exercise in the open air kept him young until the last. The song of morning was in his heart, and its glow was on his cheek. The home life was affectionate, simple, and beautiful. It was here that the genial, sunny nature of Dr. Crooks and his love of wit were seen to best advantage. To those who understood him his heart was a rich, unfailing fountain. He combined in his character the simplicity of childhood, the delicacy of womanhood, and the strength of manhood. During the last days he said, "If I had my life to live over again I would do just the same." What a splendid comment upon one's own life! We are reminded of Paul's words, "I have fought a good fight." And as we contemplate the far-reaching, beneficent results of the life of Dr. Crooks our answer to his words is, "And we would have thee to do just the same."

George R. Crooks—the very name is a synonym of strength. But men tell us that he is dead. It cannot be, it is not true. He lives both here and on high. Our faith assures us that his spirit is pluming for yet loftier flights, and we know that he still toils upon the plains of human activity by the example set and the inspiration afforded to others. Sixteen classes of Drew's alumni carry the impress of his strong, pure personality, as to-day they preach the Gospel in all lands of earth. In their lives his character is forever enshrined.

Who calls thee dead?
Dead! As a knight is, when he doth but lay
Aside his armor with the battle won;
Dead as a knight is, who hath gone away
In better mail, beneath another sun.

W. F. Anderson

Art. II.—THE WORLD-NEIGHBORHOOD.

The oldest question is the newest question. The problem of the fortieth century B. C. is the problem of the twentieth century A. D. For millenniums the population, civilization, and religions of the globe have moved westward. In the coming century religion, civilization, and commerce will flow back eastward. The first movement was led by a Jewish pilgrim, Abraham, who became the first emigrant for religious motives. The last movement is being led by missionaries acting under religious impulses. Closely following the missionaries are the traders, and upon the heels of commerce civilizations are pressing. Britain, Russia, Germany, and France to-day are looking eastward instead of westward. If the United States is still facing westward she is straining her gaze across the Pacific in order to catch sight of commercial advantages with the teeming millions of the Orient.

> "But there is neither east nor west,
> Border, nor caste, nor clan,"
> When Christ or trade starts round the globe
> To meet a brother man.

The world will become a neighborhood in the twentieth century. What race, civilization, and religion will become dominant among the neighbors? Three possibilities lie before us: (1) The yellow races, with heathen faiths, may master our mechanical arts, and especially the art of war, and by sheer force of numbers may pour over Europe and America as the Huns and Goths poured over the Roman empire at the beginning of the Middle Ages; (2) The rapid growth of armies and navies indicates a revival of the military spirit; hence Russia, which has just reached the military stage of civilization, and whose army is pronounced by William of Germany the most formidable upon the globe, may become the suzerain of Asia and the overlord of Europe; (3) It is possible that Christianity may make rapid strides, and that the world-neighborhood may be permeated during the twentieth century with the industrial spirit, under the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon races, with English speech and Protestant Christianity.

The first solution of the problem is strongly presented in

the brilliant book of the late Mr. Pearson, entitled *National Life and Character: A Forecast.* He thinks the Chinese are even superior to the English as colonizers. They have established great communities outside of the Chinese empire in the Orient; and in these foreign communities they slowly supplant the natives. They are imitative and soon learn the art of handling machinery; hence in addition to manual labor they now operate great steamship lines and large factories in the East. They are born traders, and are monopolizing the retail and wholesale business in foreign ports. In Jahore they outnumber the natives two to one. In the Malay states they outnumber the Malays. They are flourishing at Hong Kong and Singapore. In Hawaii they are supplanting the Hawaiians. They have encroached upon the labor market of Australia, and even on our Pacific coast they have threatened the supremacy, not only of the Irish toiler, but of the American merchant and banker. Their empire contains four million square miles of territory, numbers four hundred million souls, and has lasted four thousand years. The Chinese have the toughness and the elasticity, the easy adaptation to all climates and conditions, the docility and fearlessness which will make them splendid soldiers under able generals. "They possess every military virtue," says Lord Wolseley. If China masters our material civilization, and especially the art of war, before she becomes imbued with the spirit of Christianity even the western continent may suffer from an oriental invasion. Emigration has been the law of nations from the time when Abraham started west from Mesopotamia down to the landing of the last Jew on the wharf at New York this morning. Steam and electricity are furnishing means of transportation unknown in former ages. The population of Asia is nearly six times as dense as the population of the western hemisphere. With the pressure of physical want behind the teeming millions of Asia, with our rich soil and attractive climate before them, and with modern facilities for transportation, what reason have we to suppose that the law of emigration which has operated for nineteen centuries will be suspended in the twentieth?

While Mr. Pearson thus makes a strong case, we think he neglects to properly estimate the strength of the forces which

work for our higher civilization and for Christianity. The law of the survival of the fittest holds true in the human as well as in the animal and vegetable realms. Under this law we have seen the Turkish empire lose nearly half its territory and population within the last quarter of a century. The world is now astonished that with the one hundred thousand Armenians massacred since 1894 the "sick man of Europe" baffles the great powers, and the assassin is still upon the throne. But the temporary lease of life which Turkey has secured is due, not to the suspension of Darwin's law, but to its operation. Human forces, like the forces of nature, move along the lines of least resistance, and the lines of least resistance have been found during the last quarter of a century, not in Turkey, but in Africa and in Asia. Mohammedanism is indeed corrupt; but it is not so utterly weak as the superstitions of Africa or the empty forms of Confucianism and Buddhism among the Asiatics. It is a strange mingling of truth and error. It indeed upholds slavery and polygamy to-day, but with its doctrine of one God, maker of heaven and earth, with its belief in a divine theocracy for the government of the nations, with its conviction of a divine providence which shapes the destiny of all and makes sure the reward of the faithful, Mohammedanism is vastly stronger than are the polytheistic and pantheistic faiths which dominate Africa and Asia and which, along with Mohammedanism, are being subjected to the pressure of modern civilization. If Japan's success is a contradiction of our statement she is the exception which proves the rule; and Japan has become stronger than China because she has adopted, if not Christianity, at least the results of Christianity. The great powers have turned temporarily from Turkey to Africa and Asia because they see among these heathen peoples greater prizes within easier grasp. A comparison even with Mohammedanism of the superstitions of the Chinese will show the weakness of the latter. The most widely spread religion in China is ancestor worship. No railroad can be built in the empire without force, because the movements of the cars interfere with the movements of the spirits. If a son wins fame his father receives the titles; if he wins victories in battle his father is made the commander. No prophet

with a present message can gain a hearing, because the Chinese look for sacred messages only among the classics centuries old. Thus facing backward, they have become the least progressive people upon the globe. The hands of the dead are upon the empire, paralyzing one of the strongest peoples of the earth. Worse still, the trained young men of China—the very class which in Europe and America lead in progress and reform — are mortgaged to the side of conservatism. The aristocracy of China is an aristocracy of learning. The rulers of the empire are drawn from those who pass the examinations at Peking. Learning is the royal road to political preferment. The scholars of China are the inheritors of all civil, political, and social honors. One might as well expect the heir to a throne to lead a revolution for a republic as to hope for the educated young men of China to destroy the privileges they are eager to enjoy. Only by a miracle will a Chinese scholar become a reformer. A glance at the recent history of the Chinese empire will confirm our estimate of her weakness, based upon this reference to her religion and her learning. The Taiping rebellion lasted from 1850 to 1864, and then was put down only by French and English intervention. During the last quarter of a century China has lost eight of her best provinces to France, England, Russia, and Japan. Within ten years Russia will complete the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the northern borders of China for twenty-four hundred miles will lie open to Russian invasion. In 1894 Japan carried out her ambitious scheme for revenge and conquest, and the civilized world was astonished to find the mighty empire of four million square miles of territory and four hundred million people and four thousand years' duration crumbling before the attack of a nascent empire of a hundred and forty thousand square miles of territory and forty million souls. At once the European nations saw the enormous prize lying helpless before their greed. With human nature as it is need we wonder that Russia pushed back Japan only to secure a splendid harbor and invaluable guarantees for herself, that Germany has already seized part of the coast, and that Britain is demanding as much as China has granted to any other nation? If the unity of the empire is preserved it will be because the jealousy of the great

powers prevents an agreement as to how the spoils shall be divided; and it is still doubtful whether jealousy or greed will triumph. The yellow race will not be annihilated. Indeed, the Chinese are the Anglo-Saxons of the Orient. But the Bible assures us that every heathen religion carries within itself the seeds of its own decay. Hence only a pessimist or a skeptic would dream that the present religion and civilization of China will dominate the globe. The events of the past four years have once more confirmed the divine forecast; they have eliminated one of the three factors from the problem.

Will Russia secure the leadership of Asia in the twentieth century? The contest for the headship of the eastern hemisphere is between Russia and Great Britain. European politics revolve around this struggle. Let us illustrate this statement. Last year we asked an editorial writer on a leading London paper why Great Britain did not protect the Armenians. He answered: "Look at India with her two hundred and ninety million souls. Our rule there has been upon the whole beneficent. Even suppose half a million perish from the famine, remember that famine formerly swept them off by the millions; remember also that India has gained fifty millions during the last twenty years, chiefly by the increase of her population. If we can maintain our ascendency in India for another half century English speech and Christian civilization will become dominant among three hundred million human beings. But an attack upon the sultan may arouse our Mohammedan subjects in India, or may lead Russia to attempt to supplant us in Asia. We must not imperil the destinies of three hundred millions of people under our immediate watchcare in order to insure the religious liberty of two million Armenians under another government." An editorial writer on another paper, who was present, added: "You must remember also that Great Britain now holds two and a half million square miles of territory in Africa, nearly two million square miles of which have been acquired since 1870. If we can retain our possessions on the Dark Continent we shall soon enjoy a rich trade with her teeming millions, and we shall find there an outlet for our surplus population for at least one hundred years. We must not prejudice the interests of our own prosperity for

the sake of these turbulent Armenians." Later in the season we were talking with a Russian consul on the Riviera. We remarked that Russia could have captured Constantinople, had she overthrown the sultan in the name of humanity, when the massacres occurred last fall; and Great Britain would not have attacked Russia in order to secure the integrity of Turkey, as she did in 1854. "Perhaps we could," he replied, "had we recognized in time the indignation of England over the Turkish massacres; but," he added, "we had our eyes upon a greater prize. Our Trans-Siberian Railway is to be completed in 1904. This will give us the control of China, enable us to become the leading power in the Orient and the strongest empire upon the globe." We can readily realize that if Russia were to become the suzerain of Asia she would become the overlord of Europe and the leader of the eastern hemisphere. It is also possible that with the growth of wealth upon the one side and of a reckless proletariat upon the other the United States may repeat the history of the Roman republic and lapse into a military despotism. Decadence as well as progress is a phenomenon of our race; and some signs point to a pause, if not to a retrogression, in our civilization. If the race lapses into the military stage, then Russia, which is just reaching that stage, may become the leader of the world.

We do not, however, anticipate the headship of Russia. Were civilization indeed to lapse Russia would begin her encroachments upon Europe by the assimilation of Austria-Hungary and of Germany. Selfishness, if no higher motive, could them drive these nations to a union with Great Britain; and Russia could not conquer these three peoples combined. Russia cannot conquer Great Britain alone, unless she greatly increases her navy. But navies cost money, and Great Britain has vastly more available wealth than has Russia. Above all, one of two alternatives confronts Russia to-day. She must either conquer modern civilization or yield to it. With the awakening sense of individuality and of personal rights throughout the empire; with the agitation of the socialists and anarchists who, after all, in Russia are only the John Baptists of political equality; with the extension of railways, telegraphs, and modern improvements; with the increased circulation of news-

papers and the growth of a national literature; and with the revival of Bible study and the awakening of religious consciousness among the people, under the leadership of the Stundists, Russia impresses the onlooker as upon the eve of great social and moral changes. Her millions are emerging into modern civilization. The traditions and the aspirations of her rulers favor progress along all lines save those of political and religious freedom. It is impossible, therefore, for any czar to unite all Russians in a supreme effort to roll back the tide of modern civilization. The progressive and reactionary forces within the empire will engage in a life-and-death struggle before Russia leads the world back to the Dark Ages. Indeed, one menace to the peace of Europe is that Russia may resort to an external war to escape internal revolution. But, if so, its leaders will not command the support of her most thoughtful and conscientious citizens; and with the loss of these leaders she cannot conquer Great Britain alone, much less modern civilization. Our Christian-worldly civilization is confronting great problems which will force it gradually to become more Christian or more worldly. Great Britain and the United States may become rotten before they are ripe. Our civilization may perish by our own hands. It will not be overthrown by the armies of Russia under the lead of a slav Napoleon.

The third solution of the problem lies in such a growth of inventions, such industrial, political, and social progress, such intellectual and spiritual development upon the part of the Anglo-Saxon peoples as will make them leaders of the world-neighborhood. Whether or not this hope is to be realized depends much upon the United States. Most statesmen look only to material resources. Considering these, we find that the United States with one twentieth of the population of the globe possesses one third of its wealth. The *Memorandum*, prepared last year by the ablest English statisticians in response to a request from Parliament, gives the comparative statistics of population, industry, and commerce of the United Kingdom and in leading foreign countries. This report forecasts the coming industrial supremacy of the United States. From 1870 to 1895 the population of the United States through births and immigration increased at a much more rapid rate than did the

population of either the United Kingdom or of Germany through births less emigration. The writers add that this increase of population in the United States is chiefly urban and industrial, rather than agricultural; hence it foreshadows, not an increase of raw materials for the United Kingdom, but an increase of competition with the United Kingdom. The annual average exports of 1880–85, compared with those of 1890–95, show that the United Kingdom lost three per cent of her export trade, Germany a fraction of one per cent, while the United States gained one hundred and two per cent. In the production of the two staple articles of manufacturing—coal and iron, which have been the source of British wealth—the committee affirms that the preeminence has passed from the United Kingdom to the United States. Anyone who reads between the lines of this *Memorandum* will recognize our approaching industrial and commercial supremacy. If we take a little broader outlook we shall find the conclusions of the committee only emphasized. During the past sixty-five years the population of the United Kingdom increased sixty-three per cent, of Germany seventy-five per cent, of Russia ninety per cent, and of the United States six hundred and twenty-six per cent. Basing his estimate upon our past growth, M. Simeoni declares that the United States will have a population of one billion souls by 2000 A. D. Mr. Gladstone, who wisely anticipates a decreasing rate of growth, nevertheless thinks our population will reach six or eight hundred millions before the close of the coming century. With our vast and fertile territory and unsurpassed climate, with our rich and varied resources, and with the most intelligent and energetic people upon the globe, the Creator has certainly made it possible for the United States to exercise a potent influence on the world in the twentieth century. Moreover, as Mr. Gladstone points out, the exercise of such an influence by the United States and the English-speaking peoples requires no sudden change in their lives, no preterhuman strength or wisdom, but only an orderly growth, a loyalty to our traditions of freedom and morality, a reasonable advance in living up to the light we have.

The first achievement in civilization which we may look for the United States to accomplish will be the disbandment

of the standing armies of the world. It is simply impossible for European nations to withstand our industrial competition for another quarter of a century, with every able-bodied young man within their borders giving to uncompensated military service the three years in which he should complete his preparation and begin to master the tasks of life. Thoughtful writers like Professor von Holst and John Fiske have foretold the disarmament of Europe as one of the first and noblest results of the peaceful development of our country. Unless Europe forms a commercial union against us our tariff will have attained its object within the next quarter of a century; and the United States will take the traditional position of the present industrial leader of the world, and will favor free trade between all nations of the earth. In the present crisis in Asia we ought to insist that the markets of the Orient shall remain open to us. In the interests of moral order, of European peace, and as a friend of China we ought also to enter an earnest protest against the dismemberment of that great empire. We may further help Europe in securing permanent peace and in disbanding her armies by arbitration treaties with her leading nations. On account of the numbers in our country who are jealous of Great Britain, as well as on account of our traditional friendship and our simple relations with Russia, we should negotiate immediately an arbitration treaty with that splendid empire. The other nations of the Old World would follow Russia's example and seek a similar treaty, first with ourselves, and later with each other. Is it not at least possible that in the so-called European concert we already have the germ of the United States of Europe? While we should undoubtedly suffer commercially from European union, yet we may feel that we are doing a providential work if our industrial competition leads the great powers to commercial compacts, and later to political federation. As we have seen the German empire and the Italian kingdom rising out of the union of a score or more of independent powers, may we not at least dream of a united Europe? Surely there is a more sensible way of maintaining peace and even existing political divisions in Europe than by supporting armies and navies at a cost of more than one billion

dollars a year, and forcing more than three million young men into uncompensated military service at the time when they ought to be preparing for their lifework.

But the United States is not the only force, perhaps not the chief force, contributing to the triumph of English speech, of modern civilization, and of Protestant Christianity. Great Britain is a most potent factor in the struggle. We have referred to the increase in the population of the United Kingdom between 1830 and 1895, as compared with that of Russia and the United States. But during this same period the British colonies increased five hundred and ten per cent. Great Britain controls eleven million square miles of territory and three hundred and eighty-one million people, as compared with eight million square miles of territory and one hundred and thirty million people governed by Russia. Not all the millions of the British empire speak our tongue; but a hundred and twenty million speak English to-day as compared with thirty-five million in 1830. Those speaking English have increased eighty-five million in the last sixty-five years, while those speaking all the other languages of Christendom combined have increased only one hundred and twenty-five million. Besides, the growth of population during the coming century will take place chiefly in North America, Africa, and Australia, which are under the control of English-speaking people. Six sevenths of all the missionary work in the world is done by those whose native speech is English. Bishop Thoburn holds that if Britain controls India half a century longer English will become to a considerable extent the speech of her three hundred million people. Ships or cars in which English is spoken now carry half of the world's travel and two thirds of her commerce. French and German philologists prophesy that English will become the world-language. If we will drop from written words all silent letters, invent a few more characters so that each sound in our alphabet may be represented by a letter, the realization of this prophecy is certainly within reach. If those having a common English speech, civilization, literature, and religion give each other simply moral support their influence may become decisive in the world.

Besides, if we are duly modest on our own part and show a proper appreciation of Germany the struggle for a higher civilization and for Protestant Christianity will not depend upon the English-speaking peoples alone. The Germans are closely related to us in blood, speech, civilization, and religion; and they will play no small part in the struggles of the coming century. If the Anglo-Saxon stock—German, English, and American—can overcome its characteristic vice of drunkenness it will mold the civilization of the world.

Our danger lies along the lines of worldly ambition. Mr. Curzon closes his interesting volume on *Problems in the Far East* with the following quatrain on his fellow-countrymen:

> We sailed wherever ship could sail,
> We founded many a mighty State;
> Pray God our greatness may not fail
> Through craven fears of being great!

The heavenly Father will surely carry out his plan and transform the race into veritable children of God. Our danger lies in our slowness to foresee the divine plan, in our failure to rely upon moral forces, in our unwillingness to surrender worldly ambitions and to do the unselfish and brotherly work which God demands of us. Possibly he will be compelled again to use the foolish things of the world to put to shame them that are wise, and the weak things of the world to put to shame them that are strong, and the things that are not to bring to naught the things that are. Possibly the final civilization will be ushered in by some children of the Orient, more perfectly embodying than we the spirit of the Master, and thus bringing in the kingdom of heaven on earth. We would change Mr. Curzon's sentiment, and sing of our missionaries and pray for our home peoples:

> We went where ship could never sail,
> We sowed the seeds of Church and State;
> Pray God our mission may not fail
> Through false ambition to be great.

J. W. Bashford

Art. III.—ETHICAL LEGISLATION BY THE CHURCH.

By this I understand, not legislation concerning the fundamental moralities, which are recognized everywhere and always, but rather the legislation of religious casuistry concerning the conduct of the religious life. It is the legislation which lays down rules for holy living, furnishes aids to piety by prescribing spiritual exercises, and in general marks out a code of conduct which we must follow if we would enter into life, or at least if we would be perfect.

If such legislation were clear in its principles and successful in its efforts there would be no question as to its value. There is room, however, on both historical and reflective grounds for doubting its efficacy, and, considering the strong tendency in many minds to this sort of thing, there is need of a better understanding of the subject. What I shall say for the present will refer to legislation by the Church in general, and not to the legislation of our own Church.

This kind of legislation has commonly taken one of two wrong directions, the mechanical and the pseudo-spiritual. The former confines itself to external rules and regulations which may be mechanically performed, and misses altogether the inner loyalty of the spirit. The latter aims at spirituality, indeed, but loses its way among grotesque misunderstandings, which often amount to positive caricatures of religion and end either in silliness or fanaticism.

Ancient pharisaism is a monumental product of the mechanical tendency and an equally striking example of its failure. The same thing is true to a large extent of the history of the mediæval Church. Piety by mechanical rule produced mechanical piety. Religion exhausted itself in the washing of cups and platters, tithings of mint, anise, and cummin, countings of beads, various unprofitable bodily exercises, fasts, and observances of times and seasons, while the weightier matters of the law, judgment and mercy, and the love of God and man, fell out of sight altogether. The pseudo-spiritual tendency finds illustration in many of our Protestant bodies of Puritanical origin or tendency.

Both of these mistaken forms of religious legislation have a root in human nature. The mechanical form falls in with our natural desire to compound with the moral law for something less than the love and loyalty of the heart. The commandment is searching and exceeding broad, and who can say that he comes up to its demands? There is a relief to the dull mind and conscience in turning from such an exigent and rebuking principle to something fixed and definite, to some program which prescribes our work and leaves us free when it is done. We can count our beads, observe the fasts, perform the penances, say the appointed number of prayers, exhaust the program, if we are then permitted to think that we have fulfilled all righteousness. But to live forever in the "Great Taskmaster's eye" is a work of another order of difficulty. This fact has always made mechanical religion easier and more attractive to the unspiritual than the religion of the heart.

The pseudo-spiritual method has its root in the spiritual nature itself. The disciple wishes to have his life marked off from the worldly life about him. Only thus does it seem to take on a distinctly religious form. We are to come out from the world and be separate, and for this purpose nothing seems so promising as a code of conduct, of doings and nondoings, which shall mark off the disciple's life from the world which lieth about him in wickedness. How otherwise can the body of the faithful be distinguished as a peculiar people, or effectively protest against the ways of the world? The spirit of love, reverence, helpfulness, purity, controlling life, and manifesting itself through life, is not so easily discerned as some external mark that can be known and read of all men. Moreover, it is easy to confound the forbidden world, which is essentially a spirit, a temper, a way of thinking and feeling, with the great world of life and its institutions, and thus all the more need is felt for some mechanical sign or shibboleth which shall advertise the faithful and unmistakably mark off the sheep from the goats. And hence there has been a very general tendency, when spiritual reform has arisen, to express it in some mechanical form or code. This has been the chief source of legislation of this type with most of the Protestant bodies. They have commonly had their origin in some

spiritual protest or reaction, and have sought to emphasize the new departure by new and stricter rules of life.

The methods of obtaining this result have often been of the most grotesque sort. Peculiarities of clothing, in cut or color, outrages upon grammar, departures from the conventions of social intercourse, artificial tones of voice, sophisticated simplicity of manner, the rejection of all good taste in dress or home, the refraining from all civic and political duties, from fear of being complicated with the world or of bowing in the temple of Rimmon, are illustrations. One considerable body, until recently, made an issue on buttons on clothing as being a dangerous and condemnable conformity to the world, holding that strings and hooks and eyes furnished the only truly godly fastenings for the clothing of the saints. Fifty years ago buttons on the back of a Methodist minister's coat would have been an offense in many quarters, and the wearing of a moustache would have been nothing less than the mark of the beast. I recall an interesting case from my own childhood. One Sunday afternoon a neighbor called and sat talking with my father. Among other things he said, "I reckon Brother Lufburrow is gittin' worldly. Did you notice he had on gloves at meetin' this mornin'?" On that occasion Brother Lufburrow had worn a pair of cotton gloves.

These things show the extremes to which pseudo-spirituality can run when it is not restrained by good sense and some truly religious insight.

What shall we say, then? Shall we have no legislation, and leave the disciples to be, or become, like unto the nations round about?

The answer to this question is manifold, and must be given in sections. We must remember, first, that the great and essential distinction between the child of the kingdom and the child of this world lies not in what is done or left undone, but rather in the spirit of the doing, and in the way of thinking about things and their relative values. What our Saviour complained of in the Gentiles was not that they sought after food, drink, and clothing; for he adds, "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things." The trouble with the Gentiles, ancient and modern, is that they see nothing

in life but food, drink, and clothing. They fail to relate this necessary sense life to any divine order, or meaning, or outcome. And what is needed is not to repudiate this life, but to see it in its right relations, and to fill it with the filial spirit. The great forms of human activity are fixed in the nature of things, and would continue unchanged if the moral millennium were come.

Again, we must remember the essentially indeterminate nature of concrete moral problems. We have certain moral principles, but when we come to apply them we find that they prescribe a spirit, a disposition, and leave us to find the application for ourselves. How far does love for my neighbor require me to put myself at his service, or subordinate my interests to his? There is no general answer. The amateur philanthropist commonly overlooks this, and thinks that a flourish about the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man is a sufficient solution of all social problems. The matter is still worse when we come to religion. What does spirituality imply? What is compatible and what incompatible with it? If we should look at many of the answers which have been, and are, given we should find a heterogeneous collection of notions, some imbecile and some fanatical, which are the deep opprobrium of the human intellect and conscience. If we look at the question abstractly we are surprised to find how indeterminate the problem is. Moral and religious principles have to be applied by a certain indefinable good sense for which no rule can be given. In the hands of abstract closet speculators they may lead to any depth of imbecility or any measure of fanaticism. In practice any solution of the concrete problems of duty and spirituality must be relative to the circumstances and conventions of the time; and in many things the individual must always have the casting vote. The customs and expectations of the community form a kind of common law to which the individual should generally conform; and departure therefrom will commonly indicate a blamable lack of sympathy with the spirit and aims of the community. But such public opinion or common law should rarely be hardened into a statute, as it is not made more effective thereby, and, by its very form as statute, it loses the pliancy and vitality possessed by law in the

form of public opinion. Thus it often stands in the way of progress; for this public opinion is seldom anything final, but only the net result of experience, and it may well need to be changed with changing circumstances. Groundless departure from the familiar order is commonly an evil; but there is no moral or religious code which might not be vastly improved by deepening knowledge. In this field attention should be directed, not to legislation, but to the modification and improvement of that public opinion on which all codes finally rest.

To illustrate from our own Church history. Our Church has always had its public opinion, which served as law for the time in this field; but that opinion has greatly changed for the better within the last generation; and these changes have been made almost without observation, because the opinion had not been hardened into legislation. Brother Lufburrow's gloves illustrate again. There were many communities where the use of blacking for one's shoes would have been looked upon with suspicion. The presence of a novel in the house would have indicated a falling away. Flowers in a sister's bonnet would surely have been visited with discipline. Even ribbons were tabooed; and tape strings were held to be the only bonnet fastenings which did not indicate some secret carnality, if not an open worshiping of the god of this world. The reports of conversions which have come down to us from that time abound in stories, as indicating the depth of the work of grace, of ruffles torn off of shirt bosoms, and of a heterogeneous collection of eschewed finery. Well, we have outgrown this way of thinking, and have come to see that the state of the heart is quite independent of gloves and ribbons. But consider the result if we had had formal statutes on the subject, instead of a public opinion. We should have had the glove party and the antiglove party, the advanced ribbon women and the conservative no-ribbon women. Schisms would likely have resulted, and in any case debates and memorials to the General Conference would have abounded. The more strenuous conservatives, following an ancient example, would have demanded, Why were not these gloves and ribbons sold and given to the poor? And some ingenious and

ingenuous conservative would have discovered that the word of God was being made of none effect; for did not the apostle declare against the wearing of gold and costly apparel? And this they would have said, not that they cared for the poor, or overmuch for the word of God, but because they were able and practiced debaters, and made their points after the manner of their kind. From all of this we have been happily saved by keeping our convictions on these subjects in the flexible form of public opinion, instead of fixing them in the rigid form of statutes.

These considerations leave but little room for legislation proper in this field. What lies beyond them, in the nature of practical rules and aids to piety, belongs to religious pedagogics, and has its chief application in the training of children and of persons so low in the scale of moral and religious development as to need pedagogical oversight and a course in spiritual gymnastics. And this work has to be left to the family, on the one hand, and to the spiritual adviser, on the other. The legislator can do nothing to edification.

These things being premised, we proceed to notice some principles which should be regarded in all rules and regulations, of whatever sort, in this field.

1. The field of duty is as large as life, and can never be exhausted by rules. Duty can be truly performed only in the spirit, and never by going through a program. Only as the spirit in the fullness of its devotion becomes a law unto itself is the ideal of duty reached. Anything short of this is mechanical and submoral. All rules which do not look to this end are bad; and all rules which give the impression that they exhaust duty are preeminently bad. This is almost invariably the result of the mechanical method. The disciples are desirous of exhausting the program, that they may have the rest of the time to themselves.

2. The deepest aim in the Christian life is to come into a conscious relation of filial trust and confidence in God and of active obedience to his will. Nothing is of any religious value except as it helps us to this. Hence any rite, or rule, or practice is to be condemned which tends to thrust itself between the soul and God, or which tends to lead the soul to rest in it,

as something having value in itself. Here is the great practical weakness of elaborate rituals and prescribed rules for holy living. They tend to become mechanical and miss the spirit.

As to what the filial spirit demands in conduct, our final decision will depend on our thought of God and his purpose concerning us. If we think of him as a stickler for etiquette, as concerned about times and seasons, millinery and genuflexions, we shall indeed be anxious about many things; but when once we have mastered the truth that God is a spirit, that he looketh at the heart, that the kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink, but righteousness, our sole anxiety will be to please him by living and walking in the spirit. And what this may mean will never be learned by argument, but only as the reflection of our highest life.

3. No religious legislation can be sane or safe that does not recognize the absolute legitimacy of the life that now is, and of all its normal impulses, instincts, interests, and activities. Any legislation is to be condemned which stigmatizes as common or unclean anything which belongs to normal human life; and any such legislation is dangerous which aims to reach a higher spirituality in any other way than by faithfully abiding in the work of life, and by the constant reference of that life to the will of God. The aim of religion is not only to get men to go to church and pray, but also, and much more fundamentally, to make men conscious of the divine will and presence in life; until the world shall become God's temple in which men perpetually offer up the daily life, with all its interests and activities pervaded and sanctified by the filial spirit, as their spiritual worship of God. It was oversight of this fact which led to the fearful blunders of asceticism and its monastic outcome. A secret failure to appreciate this fact underlies the popular identification of religion with formal rites of worship. But whatever ascetic renunciation or disciplinary rigor may be possible for a time, or in small bodies, it is certain that no religious organization will become general, or long command the lives of men, which is not as broad as humanity itself. Narrower conceptions may serve for a time, and may even seem justified in their origin, as revolts or protests against a prevailing looseness or indifference; but even

then it may be doubted whether they do not cost all they are worth by the time we are done with them.

4. Legislation must be conditioned by the possibility of securing its end. There are very many things, good and bad, which cannot be legislated about to advantage. One of the great weaknesses of all reform is the perennial fancy that to pass a law is all that is needed to secure some desirable end. Doubtless a large body of good people would think we should be very much further on if Congress would pass a law enacting the Ten Commandments and putting the name of God into the Constitution. We should thus put ourselves on record as being on the Lord's side—that is, on paper; and God could hardly fail to be well pleased. But, as a matter of fact, most goods cannot be reached and most evils cannot be shunned in this way, but only by the slow formation of conscience and public opinion. This is a great trial to the reformers, but it is a lesson they sadly need to learn. Most subjects are too complex, too subtle, too manifold, to admit of effective legislation. The wheat and the tares have to be left to grow together.

And this is preeminently the case with legislation for the religious life. When one contemplates the dullness, the irresponsiveness, the blindness of the average disciple, one can hardly help feeling that a little law would be good, a schoolmaster to lead him on. Experience teaches otherwise. Take, for instance, the matter of dress. There is no doubt that great waste and unwisdom are possible in this field. When some good minister whose salary is not paid, or whose collections are not up to the apportionment, or who reflects on the crying needs of the world, considers the gold and costly apparel of his congregation, he is naturally scandalized, and, if a little dull and choleric, he is pretty sure to want a law passed, or the Discipline enforced. But there is nothing more certain than this, that law could do nothing effective in such cases. The same is true for the many forms of waste and thoughtlessness and bad example which meet us throughout social life. Law can do nothing for us.

Reading, too, is by no means without its danger for spirituality. There are many bad books; there are more useless books; and there is a vast amount of time wasted in useless and un-

edifying reading. Without doubt many a person could trace his downfall to bad reading. Those fearful tragedies of which I used to read in childhood, concerning persons who went to a ball and died in despair, might, I am sure, with at least equal truth, be paralleled with other tragedies, quite as fearsome, concerning persons who read bad books and went to the bad themselves. It is no fictitious danger which meets the young in the world of books. But what are we going to do about it? The Roman Catholic Church has sought to guard the faithful against this danger by publishing an *index expurgatorius*, but it does not seem to be very effective. Mrs. Partington with her broom keeping back the Atlantic is inevitably suggested. I remember how, when I was a child, the ministers used to denounce novels and novel reading, whenever they ran out of matter or got into the brush. One of my neighbors, Brother Holmes, was held to be in a very bad way spiritually, and was pointedly referred to in prayer meeting, because he had read one of the Waverley novels. Reading Shakespeare was looked upon as questionable by most, and as pernicious by many. Adam Clarke had grave doubts as to such reading, saying that Shakespeare had underbrush enough to burn up all his cedars; and John Wesley's literary executors, it is said, prudently destroyed a manuscript, as not tending to the edification of the faithful, in which Mr. Wesley had made annotations and comments on some of Shakespeare's plays. Fortunately, we are beyond this also. We have learned that there is literature and literature, and that in any case legislation is useless. An *index expurgatorius* would be a laughing-stock to-day. Our only resource against bad books lies in parental oversight, improved taste, growing knowledge, increasing thoughtfulness, deepening spirituality. This resource is by no means always immediately effective, and it is always slow; but it is the only thing that is sure. A law on this subject would be the deadest of dead letters.

We need then to be on our guard against the notion that legislation is the best way of securing our ends, however important they may seem. This notion has been the source of the greatest horrors in ecclesiastical history. Owing to the passing of the secular power from the Church, the notion is no

longer a menace, and only rises to the proportions of a nuisance. And I conceive that our own Church particularly needs to guard against this illusion. There is an unmistakable tendency among us to that legislative tinkering which is so marked a feature of our time. And in deciding what to legislate about we must appeal to the experience and good sense of the whole Church, and not to ignorant conscientiousness, on the one hand, nor exclusively to the clergy, on the other. The clerical outlook is commonly too limited to do full justice to the secular life; and, besides, professional zeal or ambition often mistakes itself for religious devotion. Many a minister who has raged against the bicycle or the Sunday newspaper has had more than a single motive.

In any case we need to be on our guard against settling such questions by abstract theorizing. A plausible argument may be made for anything. The argument for religious persecution is perfect. The argument for a State Church is irrefragable; that is, in both cases, from an abstract standpoint. Descending from these high themes, a very good argument might be made for adding to the form for the admission of members to our Church the following:

Question. Will you be a diligent reader of at least one of our official Church papers?

Answer. I will, the Lord being my helper.

When one considers the necessity of supplying the people with sound, wholesome, and edifying religious literature, the needs of the worn-out preachers, and the demands of denominational loyalty withal, the argument is seen to be very strong. Excellent reasons can be given for each detail of both question and answer.

5. We equally need, when prescribing rules and regulations, to be on our guard against creating an arbitrary and artificial conscience. This is almost invariably the result of religious casuistry which is not based on universal morality. Artificial commands are given the sanction of eternal principles; and failure in observing some ecclesiastical regulation is viewed as worse than a violation of justice or good will. Churchly ethics abounds in this sort of sophistication, and we cannot be too much on our guard against it. There are real sins

enough in life without adding unreal ones. And a striking peculiarity of these artificial duties is that they are very apt to overtop the genuine. When one gets to tithing mint, anise, and cummin the weightier matters of the law are likely to be overlooked. The rank and file of any religious body which has made an artificial issue are pretty sure to regard the rites and customs which have grown out of it as of more sacred obligation than the moral law. I recall the case of a man who had been brought up on the notion of the impiety of singing hymns. Once, at the bedside of a dying friend, who wished a hymn sung, he consented to start the tune, as no one else present could do it. But his conscience so smote him that he afterward said he felt worse than if he had stolen a horse—a statement which, from my experience with this type of conscience, I am inclined to think was true.

Pseudo-spirituality abounds in this sort of thing in more or less striking forms, and the result is to produce a narrow and sophisticated type of piety, which is very often followed by revolt when the fiction is seen through. One of the most dangerous pieces of mental furniture for an otherwise well-meaning youth, in the present temper of thought, is a conscience which has been sophisticated by this sort of moral teaching. For it is sure to be seen through sooner or later, and then the suspicion will naturally arise that the rest of the teaching is of the same arbitrary sort. Another result of this pseudo-spirituality is to make religion contemptible in the eyes of all who have some sense of reality and of the real issues of life. There is a strong and growing impatience among thoughtful persons with religious pettiness. There is a demand that religion shall justify itself by a large and sympathetic grasp of life and by corresponding effort among the real issues of society. Selfishness, animalism, thoughtlessness, ignorance—these are the things to be combated. Personal integrity, civic honor and devotion, love in the family, and justice and good will in the community—these are the things to be secured. And when one is concerned with these things, with the real kingdom of God which is to be brought in, one cannot escape a feeling of anticlimax and of insufferable pettiness, when one stumbles on the artificial issues of ecclesiastical

fussiness and pseudo-spirituality. They invert the order of values, misplace the emphasis, throw everything out of proper perspective, and end by bringing religion into contempt.

Such are the principles which should be regarded in prescribing rules and regulations for the religious life. And when they are thought out it will be found that they leave a very small place for effective legislation in this field. We have to reach our ends in other ways—by personal influence and example, by instruction, by the slow formation of conscience and public opinion, and by the broadening of knowledge. To be sure, the legislative tinker, full of zeal and nostrums, will insist on short cuts to the millennium; but he might profitably hold a retreat or a novena, under the guidance of some wise counselor, for meditation upon the wisdom of the horseman's proverb that mettle is bad in a blind horse.

I wish now to apply these principles to the general problem of legislation on amusements. In this matter the Churches which have arisen or descended along the Puritan line have always been prone to unwisdom. They have taken John the Baptist, the austere and ascetic dweller in the desert, for their model, rather than the Master, who came eating and drinking, who knew what was in man and who moved about among the humanities of life, sharing in them, sympathizing with them, and looking upon them with so loving an eye as to give place and point to the charge that he was a glutton and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. The Puritan excess in this matter is intelligible as a reaction against the opposite excess of a licentious age, but none the less was it an excess; and, however justified it may have been at the time, it becomes a piece of distinct unwisdom when it is elevated into the abiding legislation of the Church. Furthermore, this view has never been without a certain note of asceticism and pseudo-spirituality. The soul was to be saved by renunciation, and the disciple was to be revealed by not dancing, not playing cards, not going to the theater, and other such pathetic virtues. And indeed, when taken *secundum quid*, these are often important virtues; but they soon came to be taken *simpliciter*, and in minds of a passive type they outranked the weightier matters of the law. This tendency is well illustrated by the

Scotchman who said, "Drinkin' and swearin' I can stand, but this profane whustlin' on the Sawbath I cannot abide."

The Church needs to remove its ban from the world of amusements for the sake of all concerned. Wholesale and undiscriminating condemnation brings the Church into contempt and deprives its just criticism of any weight. Without doubt amusement, like every other good thing, can be overdone, or sought in pernicious forms, but equally without doubt it is a necessity of human nature, and is a part of the human order. "No room for mirth or trifling here" is true for certain moods and in certain relations, but it is no sufficient formula for human life as a whole. Here, too, we have to fall back, not upon argument, but upon our experience of life. Grim texts abound, but cheerfulness will come creeping in. The most frightful logical consequences can be drawn from anything we dislike, but humanity will have way. What is needed is, not legislation and wholesale condemnation, but the cultivation of thoughtfulness, discrimination, broad-mindedness, a sense of responsibility and of the many-sidedness of life. With such instruction Christians might be trusted to seek amusements without official guidance, and if, upon occasion, they should see a clean play, or have a social game of cards, or engage in a dance in reputable society, no harm would be done. The kingdom of God does not consist in going to the theater or in not going, in dancing or in not dancing, in playing cards or in not playing cards, but in the filial attitude and devotion of the spirit.

The Churches of Puritan affiliation have never been thoroughly sane on these topics. Without doubt a great deal of mischief has existed in connection with the things mentioned, and this fact has apparently made discrimination impossible. Because bad men have gambled with cards we must condemn a social or family game of whist. Because there are low dance halls we must condemn a dance at a neighborly gathering or in reputable society. Because there are indecent plays we must never see a decent one. A college which did not provide extended courses in dramatic literature would be looked upon, in the educational world, as lamentably lacking; but we expect the students who have taken these courses to believe that it

would be a sin to see the plays represented. A surer method of alienating the whole college world, and thus, finally, the whole educated world, could hardly be devised.

Well, some sense of this fact is beginning to penetrate the ecclesiastical mind. To remove the ban would not do, for freedom is dangerous. If the disciples were allowed to decide for themselves in these as in other matters they would do nothing but dance, play cards, or go to the theater indiscriminately. This is axiomatic. Still, it is allowed that particular plays might not be bad, and that dancing under some circumstances might be innocent. But, nevertheless, the "institution" is bad, and we must set our faces against it. This argument from "the institution" is simply a verbal fallacy, constructed *ex post facto* and *ad hoc*. Take away the particular features of the case, and there is no institution left. The real objections never lie against the institution in general, but only against the particulars of time, place, relation, and character. An argument against the novel or the bicycle as an institution would not be more futile or fallacious. In these, as in so many other matters, we shall have to fall back upon freedom, and rely on moral influences rather than legislation. In particular the pulpit must unlearn its habit of indiscriminate denunciation. It must also aim to produce a spiritual way of thinking instead of a habit of pedagogical submission. It might be that offenses would come, but they come in any case. If one weak brother is offended at another's liberty another weak brother is offended at having his liberty judged by another man's conscience. In the long run the line of truth is the line of least resistance, of fewest offenses, and of most success.

We have in our own Church history a good illustration of the ease with which well-meaning men can run into unwise legislation. The Methodist Church has in the main dealt wisely with these questions. Of course, along with the great spiritual revival in which our Church originated, there was much that was crude and factitious in our notions and customs, but it was not hardened into statute. And when one considers the strong tendency of crude religious thought to hamper itself with legislation one cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of the fathers in guarding against it. The General

Rules were flexible. They expressed the temper and public opinion of the Church, but they left the decision on many matters with the judgment and conscience of the individual; and they also left room for changing opinion. This was as it should be. But in 1872 a spirit of unwisdom entered into the General Conference and instigated legislation which placed a ban upon dancing, attendance at theaters, circuses, and dancing parties, and various other matters. And doubtless many regarded this as a triumph of spirituality; and with the pseudo-spiritual it has been a ground for unseemly boasting. But I cannot learn that anyone has detected an increase of real spirituality in consequence. The net result, so far as I can make out, is this: We have legislation which is not executed, which everyone knows is not executed, which the authorities do not expect to be executed, which cannot be executed; and any youthful minister, in the stage of disciplinary rigor and vigor, who should insist on executing it, unless he picked out a very small man for practice, would get a back seat for his pains. This is the positive result; and it smacks strongly of false pretenses. And the negative result is this: A large and growing body of thoughtful persons drift away from us, or are kept away from us, because they have not quite got the knack of assenting to rules they purpose not to keep, and because they are unwilling to be treated like children. And this is conceived to be a triumph for spiritual religion. And possibly it may be such for one who thinks paper professions the main thing: but an honest man who wishes his yea to be yea and his nay nay finds it hard to extract much satisfaction from it.

As in the last paragraph I have come over on Methodist ground, I stay there long enough to venture a suggestion on this point. I would have our Church go back to its position before 1872, as being at once more truly spiritual and practically more wise. High authorities claim that the legislation was unconstitutional; and in any case it was unwise. It was a step away from free, personal responsibility toward mechanical and pedagogical submission. However well meant it may have been, it was really in the interest of a factitious and mechanical spirituality, and rested upon a distrust of spiritual freedom. There is, too, an air of the grotesque and the ludi-

cious about it. A multitude of practical questions of vastly greater importance have to be left to individual decision. The risks of freedom have to be taken in things of the deepest significance. But on these matters, which sink out of sight in comparison with the real issues of life, we are treated to a bit of legislative guidance. It would be deliciously humorous if it were not for the practical annoyance wrought by it.

But whatever the motive of the legislation, its failure to secure the end aimed at is manifest. With illiterate Christians, of course, there is always a tendency to condemn others whose social and religious customs differ much from their own; and the depths to which ecclesiastical self-puffery and denominational jingoism can descend are great. Yet I hardly think any thoughtful person would claim that other religious bodies which lack this legislation are less spiritual than we are on that account. Superior spirituality is not a matter of paper legislation, but of relative efficiency in the upbuilding of men and the elevation and broadening of life. Moreover, in recommending a return to the earlier and wiser policy of the Church it is not a question of encouraging the things forbidden, but solely whether it is wise to legislate about them instead of leaving the decision, where far more important decisions have to be left, to the public opinion of the Church and the judgment of the persons concerned. And as the legislation in question produced no increase of spirituality, so its abolition would produce no falling away; but it would remove a vexatious stumbling-block from our Church administration.

Upon the whole we may conclude that there is not much place for ethical legislation by the Church. Piety by mechanical rule is a failure. Obedience is in the spirit; and the aim of the Church must be to enlighten and inspire the spirit. It is hard for the person who wants immediate results and mechanical tests to appreciate this. It is equally hard to overcome the world-old distrust of freedom. But the lesson of experience is manifest. Freedom is good. And every human interest is safer when intrusted to enlightened freedom than it ever can be under any amount of legislative discipline. Paternalism everywhere is bad when it outlasts childhood. To be sure, freedom is dangerous, but it is not nearly so dangerous

as the externalisms of mechanical piety and the sophistications of pseudo-spirituality. For good or evil, in other than strictly moral matters, the day of discipline is done. Fussy moral interference and official spiritual guidance are becoming increasingly offensive and insufferable. The movement and development of religious thought force us back on the spiritual method. We must aim at enlightenment, at deepening the sense of responsibility, and at quickening love for God and man. If we can secure this result all other things will take care of themselves; and if we fail here it matters little what else we do. And in this work we must keep clear of all factitious and ascetic notions of sainthood and spirituality, and remember the divineness and many-sidedness of the life that now is. Of course, the traditional pietist will be uneasy at all this; but even he would hardly care nowadays to find the test of spirituality in Brother Holmes's Waverley novel or Brother Lufburrow's cotton gloves.

Borden P. Bowne.

Art. IV.—REASONS AGAINST REPEAL.

The history of the case before us in brief is this: During the first century of Methodism on these shores there was very little, if any, trouble with respect to indulgence in sinful amusements on the part of members of our Church. The Methodist attitude of unswerving antagonism to the dance, the theater, and such like things was perfectly understood, and participation in them was not dreamed of as possible to a consistent follower of John Wesley; he was expected to forswear them as a matter of course. But, as the wealth of the Church increased fashionable follies began to intrude, and there appeared a class of members, members by inheritance rather than conviction, who claimed that there was no reason why they should be denied the fleshly enjoyments granted to those in certain other communions. This state of things alarmed some wise leaders of the Church, who were closely watching the signs of the times, and who were rightly jealous for the maintenance of the Methodist type of Christianity. They saw there was danger of a gradual breaking down of the barriers against worldliness which the fathers had fittingly raised, and they felt that the time had fully come for more distinctly defining what had always been the very decided but somewhat indefinitely expressed position of the Church.

Action was accordingly taken by the General Conference of 1872. The great Committee on the State of the Church, including some of the foremost men of Methodism, brought in a carefully formulated report, entitled "Sinful Amusements," in which they say:

> Your committee has considered a large number of memorials and petitions from members of the Church in different sections of the land, deploring the sinful amusements too often indulged in by members of the Church: also many resolutions and pastoral addresses emanating from Annual Conferences and other official bodies belonging to our own and sister denominations. Influenced by these, as well as by their own personal observations, your Committee is of opinion that there is just cause for alarm, and a necessity for General Conference action, in order to arrest, if possible, practices which portend so much evil to the Church and to the world. The General Rules of our Church

prohibit such diversions as cannot be taken in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . . This rule is sufficiently comprehensive, but not explicit enough to meet the wants of the times.

The committee therefore recommended that the chapter on imprudent conduct be altered to read as we have it now. Their report was adopted by a count vote one hundred and seventy-nine to seventy-five, or more than seven to three.

Nothing further was heard of the matter in General Conference for twenty years. All appeared satisfied. In 1892 memorials were presented asking for a revision of the paragraph on "Imprudent and Unchristian Conduct." But the representative Committee on the State of the Church, comprising more than a hundred members, reported almost unanimously that there was no sufficient reason for making any change. Only eleven members signed a minority report, which proposed to strike out the objectionable lines. The two reports did not reach the Conference, but no one claims that the vote there would have been greatly different from what it was in the committee. Four more years passed. The agitation went briskly on, and plentiful assertions were loudly made that this "mediæval relic," as it was facetiously termed, these "provincial prescriptions," would be promptly swept away when the General Conference met. But again the Committee on the State of the Church reported that it was not advisable to make any change in the Discipline on this point. There was no minority protest this time. But the matter came to a vote in the full Conference after a big debate—a standing vote—and though no count was made it was perfectly plain to all that the majority was overwhelming for the retention of the chapter in its present shape. In other words, after the lapse of twenty-four years the sentiment of the Church has not materially altered from what it was in 1872. It is very evident, however, that the advocates for a different order of things have still some hope, in spite of their repeated defeats, and that the agitation is to be kept up. Hence the call for a clear statement on our part of the reasons why the Methodist Episcopal Church has hitherto refused, and, we confidently believe, will continue to refuse, to grant the request of those who wish to remove from the Discipline all explicit, unmis-

takable condemnation of the theater, the dance, and the card table.

The main reason for the refusal, as we understand it, is this, that the repeal of the statute would inevitably and universally be understood as a sanction of the sinful practices referred to, as an encouragement of worldliness, as a lowering of the standard which for more than a century the Methodist Episcopal Church has grandly borne aloft. The rescinding of the rule would be in effect an indorsement of the things previously pronounced against. Nothing could possibly prevent this very natural construction being everywhere put upon it. No amount of guarding, or denying, or explaining, no number of curious circumlocutions or glittering generalities or ambiguous evasions in other parts of the Discipline could destroy or materially change this result. The whole country would take this view of it, and would have a right to. A shout of delight, if not of derision, would go up from every secular paper throughout the land, from every variety show, every dance hall, every gambling hell. The action would be hailed with glee as a signal triumph by all those who are addicted to the pleasures that minister to the lust of the flesh and the pride of life, and by all those who wish to see our Church drawn nearer in its standard of living to those other denominations that are less thoroughly evangelical and evangelistic. It would be felt as a blow by most of those who are striving, amid many difficulties, to uphold the spiritual tone of the Church and to beat back the swelling tides of worldly conformity. They could not fail to feel discouraged and rebuked by it. And we cannot afford, in these times especially, to do anything in our legislation that will strengthen the party of self-indulgence, that will make it easier for people who do these things to quiet their conscience in regard to them, easier for this class of members to multiply, easier for the stricter class to conclude that they can serve God better in some other communion which has less of wealth and social prestige. It is hard enough now —in view of the vast sums spent on church music, church flowers, and similar ecclesiastical decorations and delectations, in view of the great difficulty found in paying off our missionary debt and extending the sphere of our missionary operations, in

view of the almost utter extinction of the class meeting in so many quarters, together with the decline of the prayer meeting and other allied signs of the times—for the more devout portion of the Church to feel that Methodism has not considerably declined in true godliness and thoroughgoing consecration. It would be much harder if this further step in the same direction were taken.

The time is anything but propitious for the taking of such a step. Many episcopal addresses from our chief pastors in recent years have called attention to the "alarming excesses of luxury and worldliness in the churches," and the "danger that they crush out vital piety." The bishops declare there is a call for "firm, clear, bold, unsparing condemnation of manifestly demoralizing amusements." Their address to our General Conference of 1896 had this paragraph:

> With an intense and ever-growing aversion to all that deteriorates the spiritual life of the Church, we lift up a voice of warning against the increasing prevalence of amusements that are deleterious to our spiritual power. . . . We sincerely desire that the action of this General Conference may be such as to awaken the conscience of the whole Church to the perils rising from inconsiderate indulgences in harmful pleasures. The press of the Church should speak out on this subject, and the ministers should lay down the law of the Church, the teaching of Scripture, and the sad illustrations of history, till the whole Church shall be sensitively alive on the subject.

At the previous General Conference, 1892, an important committee report said: "The tendency to indulge in various amusements either incompatible with the Christian life or a serious impediment to it greatly increases."

This being confessedly the case, how plain the conclusion that to deliberately enlarge this world-loving class of members by taking away at their demand what they regard as an embarrassment to worldly indulgence would be a very serious mistake. Our true strength as a Church does not lie that way. We can better afford to lose the few whose attachment to the pleasures of this life appears to be so exceeding great, rather than to retract or lessen our testimony against the withering influence of these pleasures. Our future depends more on our strict guarding of morals and spirituality than on our catering to wealth and fashion, or even to culture. The

retention or accession of some who are rich or educated will be secured at too high a price if, as a condition of their coming to us or staying with us, we yield to their insistence for a radical change in our time-honored policy. It would be preferable for us to let them go to communions where they will feel more at home, communions that have always been less rigid than our own, rather than to forfeit our peculiar glory. As the bishops reminded us in their 1876 address, "The true Church has always preached the Gospel to the poor. This has been characteristic of Methodism throughout its history." We have had a relation to revivals and to the evangelization of the masses that is unique. That relation has fastened upon us special responsibilities. If we renounce or neglect them, by legislation solely in the interests of a few, we shall be untrue both to our history and our destiny. More than anything else we need, to fulfill our mission, the incoming of a mighty tide of divine power, a signal baptism of the Holy Ghost; we need that the fires of purification and self-sacrifice should blaze upon our altars. It is not claimed, we think, that the proposed legislation will have favorable influence in this direction. It is very evident to most of us that its effect will be precisely the opposite; that instead of promoting the religious life and increasing faith, love, and self-denial it will tend toward self-indulgence, and minister to a decline in true devotion. If this be so, if it will lead the youth of the Church to conclude that they have been puritanic and prudish and overprecise, stricter than was needful in regard to these worldly diversions; that it is good form to go occasionally to such as are high-toned; that it is fanatical and foolish and illiberal and imbecile to refrain from or oppose these things altogether; that only ignorant, "illiterate Christians," who have "factitious and ascetic notions of sainthood," take any such strait-laced position—then there is surely abundant reason on this account alone, it seems to us, why the change demanded should be refused and the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church on these matters be in no way altered.

But this reason by no means stands alone. If we should do the thing now asked of us, and excind from the Discipline the prohibition of dancing and such amusements, consistency

would speedily demand that we do another thing, namely, modify our declaration in regard to intoxicating liquors. Precisely the same arguments apply to this as to the other matters. If "the kingdom of God does not consist in going to the theater, or not going," as we are told, then surely it does not consist in what we eat or drink. If it is an unwarranted invasion of personal liberty, "a fussy moral interference," to say to our members that they shall not have a social game of whist, or dance at a neighborly gathering, it is equally unwarranted and fussy for us to say, "You shall not take a social glass of wine, you shall not have beer on your table." Certainly these are mere "social customs," quite as much so as the other things, and "indiscriminate denunciation" of them is quite as much an offense against "good taste" and "good sense." There is no more "agreement in the judgment of Christendom" as to the need of total abstinence from wine than as to the need of total abstinence from theaters, nor can legislation in the one case any more than in the other be regarded as "legislation concerning the fundamental moralities which are recognized everywhere and always." As a rule the same class who defend their right to see "a decent play," when they wish, also defend their right to take a glass of champagne or sherry when it suits their appetite or convenience. The condemnation of the one is quite as puritanical and strait-laced, quite as "mechanical and pseudo-spiritual," as the condemnation of the other. Not a single argument holds in one case which does not hold in both cases.

Our legislation concerning wine has been fully as unconstitutional as that concerning the theater, has involved quite as distinctly a change in the General Rules of the United Societies. Those rules relate simply to "spirituous" liquors, by which are manifestly meant what are known as ardent spirits, such as rum, gin, brandy, the products of distillation. The word was never intended to cover either vinous or malt liquors, as is perfectly plain both from the recognized meaning of the term used and from the customs of the time when the rule was framed. Wines and beers were then taken freely, without question, in England and America by the

best of people; indeed, they are taken to-day by a considerable proportion of the Wesleyan Methodist ministers of the old country, which conclusively shows how they understand the rule. The modern American sentiment that, in 1848, put under ban, by inserting a line in the section on Imprudent Conduct, the use of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage, did not simply secure greater explicitness, as did the action of 1872; it very seriously changed the substance of the rule in the direction of greater strictness, to correspond with the growing public opinion which demanded it. We believe it was in every sense justified, and will not be repealed, constitution or no constitution. But at the same time we see no chance whatever for it to remain, with any sort of decent consistency, if the legislation against matters so closely allied with taking intoxicants as are horse races, circuses, theaters, and such is to be considered out of order and forever prohibited. For champagne suppers, wine at public dinners, and beer as a tonic are rightly condemned by an overwhelming and almost universal Methodist conviction, not so much because of any sin in the things themselves as because of the portentous evils that spring from their abuse and the impossibility of drawing any defensible line or properly guarding one's example in the matter. Even so, on the same grounds, must we condemn theaters, dancing, and games of chance. The ruin that floods the land from licentiousness and gambling, to which these latter things so directly lead, is hardly second to that which flows from drunkenness. And as temperance reforms properly hold the drinking habits of refined society largely accountable in the one case, so with equal fitness we hold the self-indulgent habits of the same society largely accountable in the other case; and we feel the same warrant to enter against them the strongest kind of protest, in the name of the yearning love of the Lord Jesus Christ for the fallen and the needs of weak perishing humanity.

But we shall, of course, be told that there is no desire or design on the part of anyone to lower the standard of the Church in regard either to drink or amusements, or to give the least encouragement to things hitherto forbidden; that it is only a perfectly harmless and entirely innocent question of ecclesias-

tical policy, a question as to the best and most practicable method for securing the end aimed at alike by all, that end being the enhancement of true spirituality, the quickening of love to God and man. We are expressly assured that legislation has very little to do with this; that rules for right living must be left wholly to the judgment of the individuals concerned, legislation being altogether out of place in regard to moral conduct, except in the case of fundamental morals. To us it seems exactly otherwise. Fundamental moralities, such as are written on the hearts of all men, are the very ones that least need, in these days, at any rate, ecclesiastical legislation. No one is likely to suppose that the adulterer, the thief, the drunkard, the murderer, can be an acceptable member of the Church, for he is not even admitted into reputable society. It is precisely in regard to matters which do not shut one out of ordinary society that there is need of clear definition as to what will be considered unbecoming for one who aspires to belong to the more exclusive circle of the Christian Church. Every organization gives its main attention to matters which are peculiar to itself rather than to those which concern it in common with the rest of the world. If the Church, then, is to have any jurisdiction over the morals of its members—and that would be a very singular Church which did not trouble itself about this, but simply left the whole matter to the unchallenged, undirected discretion or indiscretion of its people, merely telling them to do whatever commended itself to their own individual judgment—it must direct its thought chiefly to those minor moralities wherein its standard is different from the standard of the ungodly world. We see no difficulty in having such legislation both "clear in its principles and successful in its efforts," sufficiently so, at least, to fully justify it and accord it value. For success in legislation is always a matter of degrees, and the legislator must often be satisfied with accomplishing only a part of what he intended.

As to the principles that should guide, which we are challenged to produce, some of them at any rate are close at hand and easy to state. One is that the legislator must keep steadily in view the average mind, the commonly constituted citizen. In enactments applying to a great community scattered over a

wide area local and personal factors must be eliminated, and the standard must be neither extremely high nor extremely low—not so high that only a few will approve it; not so low as to be really superfluous because universally accepted and hence without educating power. Under a government, republican or democratic in form, there is little danger of legislation being extremely high, because the law must secure a majority vote before going into effect. And where, as in the case now under consideration, a law has on its side an overwhelming preponderance of votes, it is certainly a fair supposition that the proper medium has been reached and the best interests of the largest number have been conserved. A small minority may always reasonably be asked to put aside their individual preferences or personal indulgences, and gracefully waive some of their privileges for the general good. If there be even a little hardship in certain circles, or if some sections of the country are put to discomfort or disadvantage, the benefit of the whole body must in all reason be considered as outweighing the special inconvenience or loss felt by the few. And if there ever was a case where this plain principle applied, it is, it seems to us, in this matter of worldly amusements. It may freely be admitted that some do not need the legislation in question, and may even regard it in the light of a "nuisance." But the masses of the people do need it. It has been stated on good authority, which we quite credit, that of the 5,500,000 Methodist members in this country less than 100,000 belong to the classes so called, leaving 5,400,000 who belong to the common people. And we believe it would be both folly and criminality to legislate in the interest of the 100,000 rather than in the interest of the 5,400,000. Such legislation may be called for effect "religious pedagogics" and "fussy moral interference," but the simple fact is that the great mass of people, whether in the Church or out of the Church, need some sort of interference, need spiritual education, and have a right to look to the Church to supply it. All law proceeds upon the assumption that people are to a great extent children, children of the State, children of the Church, requiring the voice of authority and the word of instruction, not fully able to be a law unto themselves. This was emphatically the case with the

Mosaic law. It was also the principle on which Paul proceeded in his directions to his converts, which directions cover some very minor matters indeed, even prescriptions as to the veiling or unveiling of the head and the speech or silence of women in the Church. John Wesley, in like manner, made some very minute and specific enactments, embodying, even in the much-praised General Rules, which are supposed to contain his highest wisdom, a sumptuary law about apparel and the wearing of gold, an injunction as to the taking of interest, a command that there be no buying or selling on the Lord's Day, and that family prayer and fasting be observed. Doubtless the great body of those who were committed to his guidance needed just these ordinances, and he accordingly did right in formulating them. But that neither prevents our changing them at the present time nor our supposing that there were some belonging to his societies then who gave them very scant attention because they did not find them adapted to their condition. No legislator carries his respect for individual conscience and judgment so far that he waits for absolute unanimity before promulgating his law, or refrains from doing a desirable thing because a few good people consider themselves afflicted by it. If this were the case there would be certainly no liquor laws, no Sabbath laws, no polygamy laws, and our Methodist Discipline itself would be reduced to small dimensions. If people were told simply that they must not do wrong, while the entire question as to what was wrong was left with themselves out of regard to their conscience and liberty, society would take on a very free-and-easy, go-as-you-please aspect, but the result would in the long run be anything but happy. Such a policy, whether adopted by State or Church, would be a cowardly abandonment of duty on the part of the responsible majority charged with the obligations of government. However beautiful and feasible in an ideal state of society, as it may appear to a closet philosopher with his abstract speculations, it would be wholly evil in the world of to-day as we pastors find it around us.

Another principle of legislation having application here is that the law must be general, even sweeping and wholesale, in its form, leaving to the wisdom of the administrator special

modifications and adjustments to individual cases. Every judge is given a certain amount of discretion in the application of the statute. Even a common policeman is expected to use some common sense in the interpretation and enforcement of the law. The enactment is made for ordinary circumstances, and where there are manifestly exceptional conditions he who is charged with the duties of administration is expected to have wisdom enough to know it. It is hardly possible for society to go forward on any other basis. The law in its letter cannot take cognizance of all conceivable distinctions. In a statute made for the entire country or a great Church it cannot provide, for example, that dancing is permissible on a carpet but not on a waxed floor, permissible before twelve o'clock at night but not after that hour, permissible in the square but not the round exercise, or permissible with relatives and intimate friends but not with strangers. It is enough to say simply that dancing—by which is manifestly meant the dance of modern society as it is everywhere commonly practiced, with its physical allurements, its unseemly personal contact, its improper freedoms, together with the style of dress it encourages, the late hours it promotes, and the dissipation to which it so frequently leads—dancing in general, not dancing divested of all that gives it its universal character, its peculiar aroma and relish, not dancing arrayed in abstract and infantile simplicity such as a metaphysician might endow it with, but dancing as it is, that form of dancing to which the common people will resort if they resort to any, this is declared to be imprudent conduct, of misleading moral tendency. The same is said of attendance at the theater, not some ideal or extremely exceptional theater, but the theater as we see it every day portrayed on the billboards—the theater in its totality, the theater which has been put under ban by the highest councils of most branches of the Christian Church and the foremost philosophic moralists of every age, the theater whose whole trend is hostile to heart purity, whose adjuncts are evil, whose frequenters are mostly unclean, whose performers, according to the universal testimony of those best qualified to know, are almost all of low character, the theater which is the polluter of public taste, the

enemy of domestic happiness, the corrupter of youth, and responsible for the destruction of millions. Is it too much to call the patronage of such an institution imprudent and unchristian? We say not. We cannot conceive of a Christian Church that is true to its Master saying anything less.

We hold that this is precisely the proper thing to say, that it is said in the proper place and in the proper way. For, to strike the average mind strongly, the law must be free from equivocation and circumlocution and ambiguity. It must not be so artfully framed as to admit of manifold interpretations and easy evasions by those who are disposed to see in it nothing contrary to their own wishes or practices. It must not be hidden away in some inconspicuous corner, among a variety of discarded regulations constructed one hundred and fifty years ago. If it be of any special importance it must be writ large and made so plain on tables that he may run that readeth it. This is what our Church fathers almost a generation since had the wisdom and courage to do. And those who have come after them so far have had the wisdom and courage to ratify their conclusions in the most emphatic manner. With those who claim that these matters of sinful amusement are of no special importance, that they "sink out of sight in comparison with the real issues of life," we totally disagree. When one thinks of the vast numbers lured into ruin through gambling, who take their first lessons in that art from an innocent-looking game of cards, the vast numbers of the unchaste whose passions were fatally aroused as they permitted themselves unsuspectingly to be whirled about in the dance, the similar numbers who have found in the theater a fascination they could not resist and a most unhealthy stimulus to the grosser part of their natures—to say nothing of the still larger numbers that have found in the beer mug and the wine cup the exciter of an appetite that has carried them to temporal and eternal destruction—when one reflects even a little on these things, and remembers also the utterly deadening influence of this kind of indulgence on religious faith and love, and on actual work for the salvation of the unconverted, it seems to us a most amazing and inexplicable thing to count them matters of no consequence. We believe them to be of so much consequence, having such

close relations with the welfare of the young and the safety of the tempted, that to call the ordinances aimed at them "petty prohibitions" is little less than an outrage, and that anyone professing supreme love to Jesus Christ who refuses to deny himself at these points for the sake of those weaker is utterly inconsistent and in no way resembles either the Master or his great apostle, St. Paul.

Still further, we announce as a working principle of legislation that whenever public opinion in a State, or the collective consciousness and godly judgment in a Church, has reached a fairly clear conclusion as to the wrong of certain practices, it is wholly proper and every way advisable to crystallize this sentiment and embody it in a law. Such law registers the high-water mark reached, and greatly helps to establish at this mark that general persuasion which is more or less subject to transient ebbs and flows. It is a ratchet to keep the wheel from slipping back. It is a mighty educative power for the young minds that are constantly coming on. It says to them, "Here is the wisdom of your fathers." And although in the first flush of their untutored impulses they may rebel against it and be disposed to despise it, out of mere decency they are held by it in some restraint until, that wild period having passed, they learn to accept it at its true worth, and in their turn pass it on. If everything is left to fluctuating public opinion, not "hardened into statute," if there is no effort to crystallize the matter into some concrete form, a great deal will necessarily be lost. Creeds are good, laws are good. Let them be changed occasionally to keep pace with growing intelligence and wholesome moral progress, but let them on no account be wholly swept away under the specious plea that it is better to leave matters of morals to the pliancy and vitality of an ever-shifting popular sentiment.

The limitations of time and space forbid further enlargement on these attractive and instructive principles of legislation. It only remains, as briefly as possible, to touch on some concluding reflections. We believe that our standard of Church membership and of morals is the right one; that these sinful amusements and evil indulgences are detrimental to the religious life, even when taken in moderation and with care; that

total abstinence is the only safe rule; and that the banner now borne aloft on which is inscribed, "No theater-goers, dancers, card players, or tipplers wanted in the Methodist Episcopal Church," should not be taken down. While a few do these things now with impunity, it is universally understood that they do them at their own risk, in the face of the most positive and explicit prohibition on the part of the Church. The proposition is to take away this explicit prohibition, in other words, to legalize all these things, for that will be the precise effect of it; the Church will be understood then as giving no specific deliverance on the matter; it will be regarded as a perfectly open question concerning which each person will have full permission to do just as he pleases. It is frankly admitted by most that the purpose of the change sought is to free from embarrassment those of our members who like such things, and to encourage the influx of a larger number of such, it being supposed that thus we will gain higher standing in the social world. To us nothing seems more suicidal. We believe it to be as true of these amusements as of the liquor traffic—that they cannot be legalized without sin. We hold that by the proposed change these things will be practically established among us under what will amount to a most insidious form of license. That only such diversions will be permitted as can be taken "in the name of the Lord Jesus" is a preventive about on a level with that other prescription in the civil law that only "persons of good moral character" are to be liquor sellers. Each phrase is equally elastic and indefinite, a formula without value, having no recognized significance. It is a simple historical fact that there is scarce any abomination under the sun which has not been practiced in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by those who claimed a good moral character. Our Saviour warned his disciples that those who killed them would think they were doing God a service, but this did not make that killing right. No more does calling the name of Jesus over the dance or the theater make these diversions proper. The fact that people can go to these places and consider that they take Jesus along with them only seems to us to show that they are not very well acquainted with Jesus, and that their ideas as to what he would do if he were now here in their

place are extremely crude, not finding confirmation in the portrait drawn of him by the four evangelists or by his trusted apostles. He whose motto was self-denial, not self-indulgence, the good of the weak, not the gratification of the strong, is wholly misrepresented by tipplers and card players.

The plea that the law is not enforced does not seem to us worthy of the weight placed upon it. If all the regulations which are not everywhere adequately enforced were removed from our statute books in Church and State there would be an immense clearing up. The violation of a law is not always sufficient ground for its repeal. The true question to be considered is, Would the end which the law is intended to effect be better secured by its repeal or its retention? We hold that the latter is plainly the case in the present matter. The statute serves its purpose fairly well. Its voice is heeded in the vast majority of instances. It has a mighty educative and deterrent influence. That it is keenly felt as a restraint is perfectly clear from the vigorous efforts made to get it out of the way. The law acts as a powerful check on the impulses of the young, acts as no mere chapter of mild advice could possibly do. Multitudes are led to think and to say, "It is incumbent on me as a loyal Methodist who respects his Church to have nothing to do with these things; though I do not quite see myself any harm in them, I will bow to the presumably greater wisdom of my superiors and refrain." Thousands, we believe, by this potent voice of warning are saved from courses of dissipation.

The constitutionality of the paragraph under examination is questioned, and it is claimed by some that the conditions of Church membership have been altered. To which we have only to say that if this be so there has been a great number of other violations of the constitution which need looking after quite as much as this, but which there seems to be no special excitement about. The form prescribed in 1864 for receiving members into the Church, which includes a promise of benevolent contributions, would seem to come into this category, also the law making willful neglect of class meetings and prayer meetings a sufficient ground of expulsion; and the demand for total abstinence from vinous and malt, as well as spirituous liquors. These, and many other things have materially changed

the conditions of Church membership, much more, in our opinion, than the law about amusements, which in reality only explains what those diversions are which the general rule meant to forbid, giving it a more precise, definite form, so that now it has a pinch to it instead of being a vague and meaningless affair. If this plea of unconstitutionality be urged in this matter where it simply makes an opening for greater moral laxity, the demand will certainly be pressed by some of us that the same principle be carried impartially through all our legislation, and our Discipline be radically reconstructed.

The claim sometimes put forward that there must be a complete enumeration of objectionable amusements, or else none should be mentioned, is hardly worthy of serious answer. Those which are mentioned are the most dangerous, are those which stand out in modern life as the great distinctive, popular, everywhere practiced pleasures of the world, the chosen vestments which the world spirit of to-day habitually dons, and which are recognized as such. These things have a representative character. The Church is universally expected to make some announcement concerning them. When it has done so other minor matters will readily adjust themselves, for the same principles which have ruled out these will, it will be seen by any honest, fair-minded person, rule out many other things of the same sort which need not be specified. The Ten Commandments do not furnish a complete list of even prominent sins, but they are not, therefore, of no value.

To the cry, "Let us become like other Churches, let us avoid the unpopularity in some quarters which our peculiar stand occasions," we reply, "Nay, let us maintain our leadership in this matter of a stringent separation between the Church and the world, and do our best to bring other Churches up to our line instead of dropping back to theirs." Very many at least of the more earnest ministers and members of other Churches wish they had our position, had the aid of our rule in protecting their young people. Some of these Churches are strengthening their deliverances against these matters; it is no time for us to weaken ours.

We have the assurance of the editor of the *Epworth Herald*, who has taken special pains to examine the matter, and has

special facilities therefor, that there is no desire on the part of the young people of Methodism for any change in the law. We are confident there is no demand for it on the part of the class leaders of the Church, on the part of those engaged in maintaining the prayer meetings, on the part of those who are of value in altar services and in leading sinners to Christ. There is no demand for it on the part of the rank and file of the ministry—those in touch with the needs of the masses, those who see most clearly what the inevitable result of such repeal would be on the average member of our churches. There is no important demand for it anywhere, as the General Conference has clearly seen and shown again and again. At the close of this nineteenth century there is no danger of too much asceticism, or too large an infusion of Puritanism. It is not a time to give the slightest encouragement to the fearful gambling furor which had so powerfully taken possession of the land, or to any other form of the worldliness which threatens to overthrow, not "pseudo-spirituality," but true spirituality. The works of the flesh are manifest, and the works of the Spirit. No amount of sophistication or witty special pleading or *ad captandum* appeals can permanently confuse the issue. The heart of the Methodist Church is sound on these matters, and will not consent to any lowering of the standard, any weakening of the dike which keeps back the tides of evil, any jeopardizing of its youthful members. Under the old banner it will march forward with steadily increasing numbers, and, with what is far better than that, an influence on the country of the most unequivocal sort in favor of "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report."

James Mudge

Art. V.—CHURCH MUSIC.

We are to consider musical art—which is historically the outgrowth of religious worship—in the service of religious worship. We are not dealing with art in the abstract, which jealously and properly demands entire freedom in its internal development, but with a finished product of art, designed for a special function. Throughout this discussion we look upon music as the handmaid of devotion, whose eyes look unto the hand of her mistress, and who is not guilty of the impropriety of thrusting herself into the position of command. Fortunately, this relation, instead of lowering the dignity of music, has immeasurably deepened its contents, and given it an earnestness of purpose and a spirit of reverence, which are the very soul of all true art. On the other hand, I have no sympathy with the spirit which divorces art from the all-important concerns of worship as being relatively vain and trivial. Granted that the preaching of the word is the first mission of the Church, what can be more helpful for the conveyance of the message than hearts awakened and warm to welcome the truth when spoken? The Bible itself appeals more to the heart than to the head; and is not music, the most elementary, direct, and effective of all arts, precisely adapted to speaking to the heart, often to the heart of him whom a sermon flies? How admirably musical expression can bring out and emphasize the dignity of the majestic diction of the Bible! What richness of content has not the sacred oratorio added to the words of prophets, psalmists, and apostles! "I heard the Messiah rendered," writes the literary master of us all, Goethe, in his diary; "it gave me entirely new ideas of declamation." One can tell, when a minister reads the fortieth chapter of Isaiah in public, by the fullness of content or by the relative flatness which he lends to its phrases, whether he has lived into Handel's work or not.

In beginning this discussion we would state as the first proposition: Music which shall be truly representative of the American Methodist Episcopal Church and an adequate part of its organic life must be rooted and grounded in its historic

past and reflect its characteristic spirit. America seems, in some degree, to be an exception to the all-important law of organic continuity. We have achieved practical results entirely incommensurate with the shortness of our separate existence. No nation has ever compared with the American people in the eagerness and success with which they have taken over and carried further the products of a slow evolution in the older countries. But, whether developed here or there, art is developed. Original genius can only shock and repel by its rawness and discord, as the results of an attempted originality in American architecture sufficiently attest. There is among foreigners the very common reproach that we Americans show a lack of flavor, doubtless induced by our very eagerness to appropriate the best from foreign sources. There is a particularly unedifying artificiality in our social life; New York's smart set is a painfully literal copy—diluted—of London; Chicago copies New York; Peoria copies Chicago's dilution of New York; and Centerville sedulously imitates and dilutes Peoria's dilution of Chicago's dilution of New York's dilution of London, and so on, to the dissipation of much native power and possibility.

> What! Phantoms are we, specter-thin,
> Unfathered, out of nothing born?
> Did being in this world begin
> With blaze of yestermorn?
>
> Nay! sacred life, a scarlet thread,
> Through lost unnumbered lives has run;
> No strength can tear us from the dead;
> The sire is in the son.

I admit, however, that admirable fruits have been produced by the grafting process, and consider, first, What organic results, the approved products of a long selective evolution elsewhere, will offer materials helpful to the music of the American Methodist Episcopal Church?

We turn, first of all, to the most ancient and characteristic Christian music, the plain song or Gregorian choral, going back to the Ambrosian Chant and the melodies of the church at Antioch. It has entered largely into the stately service of the Church of Rome, and a large and influential association

in England, under the presidency of the Duke of Newcastle, is doing much to show its adaptation to the English Book of Common Prayer. Certainly nothing which has served a noble purpose from the days of classical antiquity is to be lightly thrown aside as worthless. This music has religious depth, it puts the singer into the fundamental mood of worship, and the melody is subordinate to the thought which it carries. One can but feel the pith and genuineness of these old melodies as compared with the complex, conscious phrases of the modern style. They should never die out entirely; the long-meter doxology shows that this type can maintain a long existence; but yet the ancient melodies are practically extinct; they are essentially foreign to our taste, they give little pleasure to the majority of hearers. Moreover, they demand greater purity of tone than an average congregation can produce. The flexible American temperament demands more brightness, variety, and vigorous movement.

Nearer to our own feeling, and more democratic in its spirit, is the congregational choral of the Lutheran Church, developed chiefly from the German *Volkslied;* it has solved in Germany the difficult problem how to secure universal and hearty participation in congregational singing. The Lutheran choral is always self-respecting, never weakly sentimental, and stands for a definite national style, with no uncertain character. To the German religious consciousness our hymn tunes seem trivial, light, and shallow, not likely to endure the test of long use—a test which the German choral has stood triumphantly. We can only rejoin that lightness and flexibility do not always mean cheapness or worthlessness. There is a German solidity which tendeth to ponderousness in the American eye. We see it in German hardware, faithfully constructed after the patterns of Tubal-cain, as compared with the American Yale lock, the American clipper-built bicycle, the American pitchfork which Germany imports in large quantities, not yet being able to rival it in lightness and tenacity. The American will find, in general, the choral too archaic, too lacking in variety, as he sometimes finds in the German national Church a suggestion of chill. In the matter of dignity, simplicity, genuine national style, wearing qualities, and adaptation to popular

ability, we have much to learn from the solid and noble German choral.

We come to the center of living issues when we consider the music of the Protestant Episcopal Church, on the whole the most reverent, artistic, and progressive of all. Developed in the national Church of England, it has both the strong national character and the aggressive good taste of that country. As a rule, the spirit of the English service—I regret to say it as a Methodist—is more democratic, the participation of the congregation as a whole is more general, than among our people. How genuine and dignified is the musical work of such men as Monk and Hopkins and Barnby and Stainer! With those who can see in the service of the Church of England nothing but "vain repetitions" I cannot sympathize. The Church which claimed the constant love and loyalty of John and Charles Wesley is not to be treated with light condescension by this generation. Why not cut short distracting attempts by adopting the present body of English Church music as a whole, and endeavoring, first of all, to completely assimilate its form and spirit, and, as further grace shall be given us, to perhaps lend our own aid in carrying on its career? This is just what an immense number of our refined congregations are doing with all their strength. There are, however, certain objections. In a word, the English Church is not American enough; its face is set too much toward the past; it has inherited somewhat of the insular British self-satisfaction, and ignores too completely what has been developed outside its own bounds. Its whole tendency is toward a choral service by a surpliced male choir—an innovation since about 1842—which will never do for the American Methodist Church. The "pure tones" of boys' voices are relatively piping and thin, compared with the fullness and color of mature mixed choirs. Mixed choirs are not preferred in the Church of England, but that is in a country where no woman may receive an academic degree from the old universities, or dine in their college halls, or visit the House of Commons without being shut up in a grated cage. The congregational hymn singing in the English Church has been forced into a very lively *tempo* by the exigencies of the long ritual, and singers trained in English

Church ideals simply wreck the more solid Methodist hymns when they set the congregation scampering through such hymns as "Come, O thou Traveler unknown," or

> A thousand oracles divine
> Their common beams unite,
> That sinners may with angels join
> To worship God aright.

There is yet one reason which must tend to prevent our looking up with an entirely docile spirit to the Anglican Church —a fact which I would touch upon with the kindliest Christian charity—I mean its attitude of denial of the individuality and independence of its neighbors, the effort of its clergy to read the entire American people into the pale of the Anglican connection by pure assumption, to which we give place by subjection, no, not for an hour.

Emphatically not to be ignored as an element in the solution of our problem is church music as historically developed in America, for America has had an important productivity in this field, in which, however, Methodism has shared only generally without having played any distinctive part. The work of our real American composers has found its way into the heart of the whole people, and has proved one of the most visible signs of the essential unity of our immense and varied population. Billings, Ingalls, Swan, Holden, Lowell Mason, Woodbury, Hastings, Bradbury, and Root are distinctly American in their work. They have given us a body of hymns which has immeasurably refreshed and popularized our worship music. The American hymn has a sweeter melody, a more flowing movement, for which we ought to be grateful. It reflects the national temperament, the essential condition of a real music. Nor will I speak with unmixed censure of the much-reviled *Gospel Hymns*, light, cheap, and frivolous as they often are. What Bliss and Sankey and Doane and O'Kane have done has not only made the conquest of the hearts of our people, but has gone out to conquer all lands; and that in the American Gospel hymn are deep spiritual possibilities no one need question who remembers with what power the simple words of "I need Thee every hour" speak in Mrs. Ward's American story, *A Singular Life*.

Lastly comes the Methodist music *par excellence*, that music which historically accompanied the original Methodist movement and made so large a part of it. As Methodists we have no need to speak diffidently upon this subject, for John Wesley was a remarkable pioneer in the development of congregational singing. His services have been well investigated by Miss Florence Spofford.* Before his time the hearty singing of hymns by the whole congregation was almost unknown in the English Church. He became acquainted with the rich German hymnody through his association with the Moravians on the way to Georgia, in 1735. The first hymn book compiled for use in the Church of England was his American collection of psalms and hymns, Charleston, 1737. In 1742 he published forty-three tunes set to music, the first Methodist collection of the sort. This music is of a solid, sober, and dignified character, corresponding to the sense of the hymns. One third of the hymns in the collection are in the minor mode, of a rugged strength and insistent melody. Most of them are quite foreign to our use at present, "Amsterdam" being, I believe, the only one generally known, though the typical "Fetter Lane Tune" in a somewhat doctored-up condition is found in the supplement to our *Hymnal*, page 428, under the title "Aylesbury," and the "One-hundred-and-thirteenth Psalm Tune," a Gregorian piece taken from Playford's Psalms, appears modified by Lowell Mason as "Nashville." Rich and solemn melody—not harmony—and extreme simplicity, so characteristic of Wesley, are the chief features of this music. In the *Select Hymns* Wesley says that the best collection of hymn tunes† which had previously appeared in England was not the thing he wanted, namely, a small, cheap collection of the tunes actually in use among Methodists. For twenty years he had been endeavoring to procure such a book, but in vain. Masters of music were above following any direction but their own, "and I was determined whoever compiled this should follow my direction, not *mending* our tunes, but setting them down, neither better nor worse than they were." The book also con-

* *The Christian Advocate*, February 27, 1896.

† The reference is to Playford's *Harmonia Sacra*. There is a good copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

tained twelve carefully engraved pages of practical instructions in the art of reading music by note. In the second edition (1765) we have Wesley's directions for using the tunes:

> Sing them exactly as they are printed here, without altering or mending them at all; sing *all*. See that you join with the congregation as frequently as you can. Let not a slight degree of weakness or weariness hinder you. Sing *lustily* and with a good courage. Beware of singing as if you were half dead, or half asleep; but lift up your voice with strength. Be no more afraid of your voice now nor more ashamed of its being heard than when you sung the songs of Satan. Sing modestly. Do not baul, . . . but strive to unite your voices together, so as to make one clear, melodious sound. Sing in time, . . . take care you sing not *too slow;* this drawling way naturally steals on all who are lazy. Above all, sing spiritually. Have an eye to God in every word you say. Aim at pleasing him more than yourself or any other creature.

Already in 1822 Richard Watson deplores the fact that these tunes have been neglected and that congregational singing has declined. The rage for new tunes had brought in a deluge of base, dissonant, unscientific, and tasteless compositions, utterly destructive of that rich and solemn melody which best becomes religious services. Time will not allow us to pursue this subject further, but enough has been said to show the grotesqueness of the idea of certain American precentors that the real primitive Methodist hymns are galloping jigs.

Taking into account what has been already adduced, we proceed now to some simple data for a school of American Methodist music. It must be hearty and spirited, as opposed to all barren formality, vain repetitions, and lifeless traditions. It must reflect the downright earnestness of Methodism, the depth of personal experience, the joyous confidence of salvation from fear, doubt, and sin. It must be robust and virile, in good taste and having a full sense of propriety and decorum; it must be spiritual, from the heart, a reverent service and sacrifice pleasing to God and offered to him directly, not an entertainment for man. It must be closely wedded to biblical themes and motives. It must be democratic and allow of universal participation. We must move slowly and not too far outrun the body of the people in taste and thought. It is not so difficult to elevate a special caste, to train up a set of Brahmans, lamas, choristers, priests, acolytes, or what not; but

to move the whole body upward, this is our great and important task—the more difficult as society becomes more differentiated by specialized culture, as labor is endlessly subdivided, as national flavor is diminished by universal intercourse. Yet I hold to the doctrine—and on this I stake my faith in democracy—that no culture need be carried so far as to lose its healthy sympathy for what is elementary and simple. The plea for democracy is not an encomium upon vulgarity or stupidity. That culture which must have involved artistic elaboration, even if it has to go to the Lord's house—the common meeting place of the rich and the poor, the favored and the oppressed—to secure it, is open to suspicion. What could be more simple than the official university services at Oxford, the very center (in the opinion of some) of the highest average of all-round culture that the human race has yet reached? Complexity usually covers up a lack of genius by a flourish of execution. What made German hymnody the rich stream which was to water every land? The simplicity of the *Kirchenlied* at the time of the Reformation, based as it was on the *Volkslied* sung by the whole people in place of elaborate motets in an unknown tongue sung by the clergy. I am convinced that it is this policy or none for music in the Methodist Church of America, or for any distinctive national music. A national school of music is not to come from a highly educated, school-trained, formally conscious set of musicians, as Reginald De Koven has well pointed out in an interesting article in the *Cosmopolitan*. How well this is shown in the work of Stephen C. Foster, who wrote the real *Volkslieder* of the Americans! How intimately did he enter into the genuine facts and use the actual properties of homely life, its real pathos—hard times, separation, death—its tender side of affection and sentiment, which never becomes cynical or false, and but rarely verges upon the vulgar! How he exemplifies simplicity and a humor which always borders upon pathos, and makes use of the gentle rhythm and pleasing melody which appeal to the popular heart!

In the actual problem of church music we have to consider three chief elements, the musical instrument, the choir, the congregation. By the musical instrument we mean, practi-

cally, the church organ. The voluntary, as a rule, involves a complex theme whose intricate treatment, when heard for the first time, taxes severely the attention of the best amateurs in the congregation, and is not followed or grasped at all by ninety-nine in one hundred. Is there any other degradation to which musical art is subjected like the usual treatment by the congregation of this most difficult task, the sounding of the very ground-note of the whole religious service? The Dresden court theater has done away with all music between the acts, and Liszt did the same thing when director at Weimar, because of the indignity done to music by the inattention of the public. Doubtless there is a duty of the public to listen, but how shall they follow sympathetically that which they cannot grasp? Variations of simple religious airs, in the spirit of Bach's preludes to the German chorals, or Lux's treatment of the "O Sanctissima," can be made full of the deepest religious feeling and will lay hold of many persons to whom the most brilliant works of the French school would be as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. In leading the congregational singing the organist should refrain from the use of the mixed stops which compete with the vocal effects, and should fill in the harmonies with the rich diapason tones.*

The choir in the course of our evolution has practically come to mean the trained quartet. I appreciate and sympathize with our quartets in their somewhat thankless task, and believe that, according to their lights, they try conscientiously to carry out the ideas of the music committees which direct them, though as a class they are too much afflicted with the fixed idea that the music of the Anglican Church is the one ideal which Methodist congregations should cultivate. I cannot quite accuse our quartets of all that sad state of things which Dr. White and Bishop Bowman recently dwelt upon in a discussion before the St. Louis preachers' meeting, nor would I echo the unintended irony of the preacher who announced, "As our choir is sick with influenza, the whole congregation will unite in singing, 'Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.'" The evil lies rather with the music committee, generally cultivated amateurs who wish to beautify the service by

*Compare F. W. Root, *Congregational Singing.*

having the "best" music, but who thoughtlessly ignore the interests of the great majority. We are governed by a small aristocracy in this matter, at the expense of the plainest rights of the people. I am not putting æsthetic standards to a majority vote—it is only artists who can fully decide what music is really good; but the question should not end there—what good music can the people appreciate? I sympathize with quartet and leader, though in minor, unintentional ways of defeating the ends of Methodist worship they do sometimes seem to be *capable de tout.* How often musical or personal considerations direct the choice of music, without regard to content or effect! There is also the undignified setting of hymns to melodies which wrest one's literary association of ideas in a way which choir leaders quite underestimate. I confess to a feeling of "suddenness" when I hear the familiar strains of "Maiden, smile on me," accompanied by the words "Holy Spirit, come!" or Gerhardt's "O sacred Head, now wounded," set to Liszt's "Du bist wie eine Blume." It is a direct slight to the intelligence and good sense of a congregation for singers to indulge in weakly sentimental or offensively bourgeois effusions like "Once I dreamed a heavenly dream," or to expect a Methodist congregation to listen patiently to meretricious musical expression which is merely a declamation of words, bearing down upon single phrases without expressing the sentiment of the whole. Take as an example the last stanza of "Rock of Ages." What can be more solemn than its increasingly awful sense of accountability:

> While I draw this fleeting breath,
> When my eyes shall close in death,
> When I rise to worlds unknown,
> And behold thee on thy throne,
> Rock of ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in thee.

Nine times out of ten a choir sings the first two lines in sad, soft, and tearful tones; of course they include the word "death," and this is the proper expression for phrases which contain that idea. But as soon as the words "When I rise" are reached the organ gives out its peals of melodious thunder, and the choir breaks forth into triumphant ecstasy.

What is the sense in "rising" at all, unless one rises directly to all the felicities of the blessed? A choir in a Methodist church commits an act of usurpation by singing an unfamiliar hymn during the communion service. We need leaders who have grown into, and who fully understand, the spirit and practices of Methodism. Musical leaders often do violence to literary texts, apparently without any sense of the sacredness of the work of a master. We are sometimes told that this sort of thing is done for reasons of phonetic euphony, but quite as often it is due to an unauthorized intrusion into the field of literary criticism, *Omnibus est hoc vitium cantoribus.* It is on a par with the pernicious activity of the typesetter or proof reader who omits, alters, or inserts, whenever the diction of an author gets beyond his easy comprehension. Happy is the writer who has never suffered from this sort of treatment, which results either in a reduction to tame stupidity or in a thoroughly cheap attempt at heightened rhetorical effect. One recalls Oliver Wendell Holmes's wrath at such treatment of his poetry in the printing office, or Gustav Freytag's remarks to actors in regard to liberties with the dramatic text. Luther and Wesley have indulged in very plain talk in regard to the contemporary amendment of their hymns, and things are worse now than then. Even the elementary principles of English grammar are not allowed to stand in the way. I once heard a quartet sing before a congregation of more than average intelligence:

> In death's dark vale I fear no ill
> With Thou, dear Lord, beside me.

Music and poetry are, on the whole, getting more and more divorced. When will our American musicians learn that the attitude of the composer toward his text is one of piety and not one of superiority? Let choirmasters firmly refuse to entertain any work which shows such literary mutilation. Germany has shown far more intimate sympathy between its greatest poets and musicians, and has proven how fruitful may be their cooperation, literature furnishing to music noble and adequate themes, while music has directly stimulated the production of the poet. How intimate Goethe's interest in the

composition of his works was is shown by his correspondence with Kayser and Zelter; and how triumphantly successful is the alliance between the two elements in such work as that of Beethoven upon Goethe's "Egmont," or the song compositions of Loewe and Schubert.

As regards congregational singing, I am supported by some of the best qualified musicians in my firm belief that it ought to occupy a large part, perhaps the chief part, in church music. There are other views. A lady of musical tastes in Baltimore told me that she did not think the congregation ought to join in the music at all; it simply killed the fine work of the choir. In the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, visitors are asked by a printed notice to join in the service silently. One is reminded of the verger in Westminster Abbey who roughly disturbed a devout Catholic as he knelt to pray, and indignantly added, "Hif this sort of thing goes hon we shall soon 'ave people praying hall hover the habbey." Heaven save us from too much propriety! The fault, however, lies not so much in the transcendent perfection of the music of the choir as in the half-hearted attitude of the people toward the public service of God. How helpful to devotion is the reverent waiting of a Moravian congregation with locked doors, in silent preparation for the orderly and solemn service. Such a service is a unit, and every moment in its varied progress is made holy by a sense of the divine presence. This sense of solemn reverence in worship seems to have almost died out in our democratic congregations. The church is an entertainment, religious duties are a part of social etiquette. Let me give from scientific observation the natural history of the assembling of one of our strongest congregations, numbering more than a thousand persons, under the ministrations of one of our most popular preachers. Three minutes past the hour of service twenty people are in the pews, and the voluntary begins; five minutes later the minister mounts the platform, a hymn is announced, and while it is being sung the congregation continues to straggle in. One half hour after the time for the opening of service the first prayer is finished, the doors are thrown open, and at least a third of the congregation, having had time to get done with a late breakfast

and the reading of the Sunday paper, comes thronging in in the most cheerful and bustling mood, quite ready to listen to the entertainment offered by the preacher. Imagine such slovenly attendance upon a dinner party, for instance. Is not the only possible inference the one that the members of such a congregation consider the service of the Almighty less important, so far as their cooperation is concerned, than a function of Mrs. Ponsonby de Tompkins? As to choir and congregation, I believe that there should be the fullest identification between them, the heartiest sense of their being together parts of the same worshiping congregation, and I hold that in most cases the ideal Methodist choir is a chorus choir, and withal a voluntary chorus from the congregation; for no other choir can compare with this for entering into the spirit of the music, or in the incomparable heartiness of every service which is given as a free offering. Let the choir be identified with the congregation; let it not be condemned to a cold isolation when the collection plate is being passed around or during the administration of the Lord's Supper. I believe that to keep congregational music from dragging a large volume of voices should lead. I would by no means shut out the quartet of professional trained voices from the service, for the highest and most perfect music is not too good for the service of the Lord's house; but this element must lead, combine, and cooperate, rather than have an independent existence. The chorus music should be mainly settings of those pregnant Bible passages which lie enshrined in the very heart of the people, the typical example being the choruses of Handel's "Messiah." The quartet work should also be within reach of the apprehension of the Methodist people, and give characteristic expression to the spirit of its worship. An admirable type is the setting of Charles Wesley's "Love divine," by Stainer. We must have a school of Methodist composers of the very best musical training, who can keep us supplied with this kind of material, or we might as well refrain from higher class quartet music. Most promising for musical unity and general association in the service is that class of music, still undeveloped among us, which allows of alternate, intimate participation in the same plan by choir and congregation, as in Stainer's "Crucifixion,"

Barnby's antiphons, Root's *New Choir and Congregation*, and, more successful yet, the programmes of the Moravian Church, and those for special occasions and church festivals used in the Lutheran Church in Germany. Our congregations should be provided with all the materials which will keep them fully informed as to the course of the service, and with the notes and words of what they are to sing, chiefly the hymns in our excellent Church *Hymnal*. I do not claim that it is ideally the best collection possible, though it would be hard to name its superior. All things considered, I doubt if fifty hymns and tunes would need to be added to bring it to the highest working value for our present uses. At any rate the Church has not half exploited or used what it possesses. Before developing the effects we might get from the most available pieces, such as "Hamburg," or that ideal congregational tune, "Love Divine," by John Zundel, we hasten on to more difficult pieces. Still worse is the fact that cheap and trivial collections stand in the way of the mastery of these noble hymns by our people. There are harrowing examples of such spiritual destitution, as Dr. White has pointed out. Now that our *Hymnal* with notes, ritual, bibliography, and order of service can be bought, well bound, for twenty-seven cents, it is beyond explanation why our people do not more fully go up and possess the land.

It is not unpleasant to find one's speculative theories confirmed by subsequently discovered facts. Mr. Beecher's church, under his intense and original interest on the subject, developed the best congregational music in America, and he got his ideas from the Eastham Methodist camp meeting. The traditions of Plymouth Church are splendidly continued at present under Dr. Abbott and Mr. Charles H. Morse, who succeeded John Zundel. All the elements discussed are found here—a pastor intelligently interested in the music of his church, a native leader, a large voluntary choir fully in sympathy with the spirit of the congregation, assisted by professional soloists and instrumentalists of first-rate ability. Anything more truly enjoyable, highly artistic, or genuinely democratic than the Christmas festival service which I attended there on a Sunday evening two years ago I do not hope to

experience. Another independent demonstration of the position taken is the music in Dr. Joseph Parker's church in London. The service is a unity, and the musical element is fitted in without a break. The voluntary chorus choir, averaging about sixty, meets for practice on Friday evenings from 7:30 to 9, and is kept full without difficulty even in whirling London. It is supplemented by a paid quartet and by an orchestra of from ten to thirty instruments, according to occasion. The musical programme is always printed and posted in advance. The title of every voluntary, often its text, is possessed by each worshiper. Once a year the choir makes an excursion, an event which is made attractive by the most liberal arrangements. This fine chorus has developed an interesting *esprit de corps*—much more, it has come to feel the value of that one reward best worth having, the glad sense of free cooperation in the highest human service: "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! . . . Blessed are they that dwell in thy house: they will be still praising thee. . . . They go from strength to strength, every one of them in Zion appeareth before God."

I close by expressing the wish that the Methodist Church might take more interest in extending elementary knowledge of singing among children in the American public schools. In England at the present time four and a half million children are learning this happy accomplishment with the most gratifying success. It is as truly a part of the equipment of life as scholarship, or general refinement, or athletics. Music should not be allowed to drift into a craze and disturb the balance of culture; but all children should be given the elementary basis which underlies the highest musical possibilities. Pastor and Sunday school workers might cooperate in developing the knowledge of a limited set of hymns of standard value, which the scholars might memorize. Let the Christian home develop family singing, not coldly and superficially, but lovingly and heartily. Let the Epworth League, whose function is to "Lift up," help in some way in the definite enrichment of the knowledge of our own church music among the young people. Let schools of singing be revived, taking up the rudiments in the excellent way in which Mr. O'Kane has recently

treated them in the series of twenty articles in the *Western Christian Advocate*, during the earlier part of 1897.

I have the strongest faith in the higher possibilities of the American people as a whole. Can we believe that their æsthetic capacity is less than that of German peasants or British school children? Aliens always underestimate the capacity of the rank and file of the American people to achieve higher results. When our civil war broke out foreign critics prophesied the inability of our masses to cope with the gigantic power of secession, but the American people justified their own confidence in their higher destiny. Never was an unmilitary nation so quickly transformed into veterans. The real problem was to find leaders—men who fully understood the national problem, who were in entire sympathy with the cause of the Union, who knew the heart of the people, their temperament, their likes and dislikes, their limitations, and their practical possibilities. With proper changes the chief cry of our own body, in its desire for a real Methodist music, is still the same which was heard again and again during the long earlier years of our national struggle, "Abraham Lincoln, give us a man!"

James Taft Hatfield

Art. VI.—A NEW DEPARTURE PROPOSED.

For more than three years the writer has been answering candidates for appointment to the foreign field by saying, "We have no money with which to send out or support new missionaries, except such as may be needed to fill vacancies occasioned by sickness and death." As often as we have written such letters our mind has been impressed with the thought that one of two things must be true:

1. Many of the persons applying are mistaken as to their call to the foreign field; or,

2. The Church is not giving the amount of money it ought to give, thereby rendering it impossible under our present methods of administration to send all who are called.

That it is probable that some offer who have not been called may be readily admitted; and yet the number who, so far as human judgment can determine, are well qualified to go is so far in advance of our ability to send that we are compelled to believe that mistaken calls do not solve the problem. It may be safely assumed that the Church is able to send out all who are truly called, provided the methods of administration are what they ought to be. But it seems highly improbable that in the near future, under our present policy, the giving of our people, even with the return of good times, will so advance as to supply the money necessary to send out and support all who are well qualified to go. If the call must wait for an advance in contributions, which will probably be slow, many who are now well qualified to go as missionaries will from various causes be incapacitated and others will be offering who, like their predecessors, will be doomed to disappointment. Meanwhile the advancement of the kingdom of God will be delayed and the salvation of millions of souls will be imperiled.

The question that presses upon our mind is this: Is it possible to devise a method of administration that will enable the Missionary Society to send out all candidates, male and female, who after the most careful and thorough examination are found to be well fitted, physically, intellectually, and spiritually, for

the work? God is certainly making no mistake in the number he is calling to the foreign field, and yet it is true that the number who appear to be called as compared with the number that can be sent out is already large and is increasing rather than diminishing year by year.

The Students' Volunteer movement among our colleges and seminaries is growing in sweep and power, and must be regarded as providential. This movement, which at first was crude, depending largely upon temporary excitement occasioned by fervent appeals, causing many to "consecrate" their lives to the work of foreign missions without any intelligent understanding of their fitness or the work they would be required to do, is now becoming thoroughly systematized, and only such persons are enrolled as candidates as have been examined and tested and have a reasonably clear comprehension of the responsibility they propose to assume. Our institutions of learning through the Volunteer movement are now more than ever before becoming the sources of supply for the foreign field, and are furnishing the Church with choice, well-equipped candidates ready to sacrifice, suffer, and even die, if need be, for the Master's cause.

Whomsoever God calls the Church should send. If the Church does not send all who are truly called it will be recreant to its duty, and will certainly incur the displeasure of its great Head, and be in danger of having its candlestick removed out of its place. Ten years ago the Church Missionary Society of England, without any special advance in its income, determined to send out all applicants for appointments having the necessary qualifications. It was after full consideration determined to decline to send no one because of lack of money. The experiment seemed a daring one, and prophecies of financial disaster were not wanting. In the place of disaster, however, there has been marked improvement in their financial affairs. The first year recorded an increase in the income of the Society amounting to $150,000, and though there have been fluctuations there has been upon the whole a steady advance, and at the close of last year their increase was $500,000 above the sum it had reached when the new policy was adopted. We have not at hand full information as to the financial

administration of the Church Missionary Society, and cannot, therefore, state whether they pledge a certain salary according to a fixed scale to their missionaries, or whether they pay such *pro rata*, upon a given scale, as their resources will justify. At all events it is certain that the new policy has resulted in giving a new inspiration to the cause of missions and in increasing the force in the field at the rate of eighty a year, while the income of the Society has been greatly enlarged. In the January–February *Review* Bishop Thoburn says:

> Dr. Stevens, in his *History of Methodism*, maintains that both the Church and London missionary societies were to an important degree the offspring of the great Methodist movement of the last century. It is not always understood in America that the Methodist movement of the last century was by no means confined to the body of Christians who were formally organized by John Wesley, and who have since borne his name. While a large number of those who were associated in that movement were thus organized into a distinct religious body, a great many others remained in communion with the Church of England, so that in the early years of the present century the Methodists of England were found partly in a separate organization and partly within the pale of the Anglican Church. The movement had also powerfully influenced the Nonconformists of that day, and undoubtedly had an important bearing upon the missionary movement in its earliest stages. It was chiefly among good men in the Church of England, who were more or less in direct sympathy with the Methodist movement, that the Church Missionary Society was founded and assumed its distinctive character as the missionary representative of the evangelical element in the national Church.

In this instance Methodism has every reason to be proud of its "offspring," but should not be content to surrender its place in the foremost rank of the world's evangelizing forces.

Though the present financial policy of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has worked fairly well it is not improbable that it is susceptible of improvement. In financial administration there is a rigidity, or lack of flexibility, rather, allowing but small opportunity to appeal to the heroic in the missionary candidate or to the principle of self-denial and sacrifice on the part of the membership of the Church. It is a kind of hard-and-fast business policy which proposes so much pay for so much work. The missionary agrees to go, and the Missionary Society agrees to pay him a certain speci-

fied sum annually for the service he renders, his salary being always the first claim upon the appropriations to the field to which he is assigned. If the Church contributes annually the money necessary to pay all the appropriations, at the end of the year the books are balanced and all is well; but if the income falls short of the expenditure the treasury is by so much involved in debt, upon which interest must be paid, or a cut must be made upon the work on the field for the ensuing year, this cut necessarily falling upon the native work in the respective fields.

The new departure which is proposed is this: Let the Missionary Society proclaim to the Church that it will send to the foreign field all candidates who are found, after a thorough examination, to be fitted for missionary work, whether they be men or women, married or single. Let there be a scale of salary fixed for each country, with a distinct understanding that they will be paid in full, provided the Church furnishes the requisite amount of money, and, if it does not, then the salaries together with the appropriations for the native work shall be scaled down on a per cent, the scaling down to apply to all employees of the Missionary Society, including missionary bishops and secretaries. This policy would have the following advantages:

1. It would appeal to the heroic spirit in candidates for the mission field, and largely eliminate all mere mercenary considerations. Thousands are now risking everything on a bare possibility of finding fortunes in the Klondike gold fields. They brave the dangers of travel, inhospitable climate, and even starvation, with the hope of securing fortunes. Are there not many in the Church who will take risks for souls, thereby laying up for themselves treasure in heaven? Shall it be said that men of the world are more heroic than are the servants of Christ? We believe there are many young men and women in our Church who would go to the foreign field on the brotherhood and sisterhood plan, colonizing in important centers and radiating therefrom into the regions round about. Such a policy would reduce comfortable subsistence to a minimum, and secure agreeable companionship and proper care in case of sickness. These communities would correspond to the Uni-

versity and Epworth League Settlements that are now being established in many American cities, and that are accomplishing great results among the neglected classes. Doubtless the missionaries would find in some instances at the end of the year that their salaries would be scaled down, but many a pastor on the frontier and even in older portions of the home country finds at the end of the Conference year that his meager salary is scaled down by not being paid in full, and he must bear the loss. Missionaries in foreign fields would be willing to do the same thing if it should be found that the exigencies of the work demanded it.

2. It would appeal to the benevolent and self-sacrificing spirit in the home churches. Under our present plan it is known to all that the missionaries will receive their stipulated salaries, whatever may be the deficit in the treasury. If the missionaries show their willingness to trust the Church for a support the sense of obligation to respond will be greatly increased. Besides, this policy will appeal to all ministers and officials in the home Church, who will feel under obligation to share with the missionaries who are at the front on the foreign field. We believe this plan would double our missionary force on the field, and would also double our income in a single decade and save the Missionary Society from ever again being burdened with debt. The Church would be made to feel that it is responsible for the support of the missionaries sent to the field, and a new inspiration to larger benevolent contributions would everywhere prevail.

3. It would appeal to the missionaries now on the field, most of whom, if not all, would heartily fall into line and share if need be the necessary sacrifice. Besides, this policy would greatly simplify financial methods. Knowing that no more could be expended in any one year than the Church would contribute, the estimates from the missions, home and foreign, would be made upon a conservative basis. It would be the duty of the General Committee to compare these estimates, equalize them as far as possible, and determine the maximum sums for the Missions and Conferences respectively, home and foreign. As the year passed the remittances would be sent out monthly or quarterly upon conservative estimates

of the probable income. On the 31st day of October, which closes our fiscal year, it could be readily determined as to the balances available for each Conference and Mission for the entire missionary year, which corresponds to the calendar year, while unforeseen emergencies would be met by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, as they are under our present system.

If the plan herein proposed is not practicable let somebody suggest a better one. That something should be done to quicken the missionary movements of the Church is clear to all who have given special thought to the present situation. It is plain that the pressing demands of our work in the foreign field are far beyond the supply now afforded. It is not a question of making converts. Multiplied thousands are ready to come, but our missionary force now at the front cannot receive and train them. A native presiding elder in India has recently caused a sensation by saying that he could baptize and receive within the bounds of his own district fifty thousand people in one year, if he had the means to care for them. We have reached a point where we dare not say to the heathen, "Come, for 'all things are ready,'" "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation," but rather do we wait for a more "convenient season." The Lord is saying to us, "Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest. And he that reapeth receiveth wages." But, alas, though the harvest is plenteous, the reapers are few. It is time for us to pray the "Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth [more] laborers into his harvest," and then plan as though we expect our prayers to be answered.

Let there be a thorough discussion of our present methods of missionary administration, not in a spirit of captiousness or fault-finding, but of earnest desire to ascertain what changes, if any, should be made to meet the demands of the new missionary era that is now dawning upon the world.

A. B. Leonard

Art. VII.—THE TRIUMPH OF JARGON.

What is called "dialect" seems to be increasing every day in our literature, especially in fiction and verse; nor does popular liking for it show any notable diminution, although it has been unsparingly assailed by many critics of high standing. But curiously enough springs up the fact that in the United States there is no such thing as a dialect of the English language; we have not even a well-defined American-English *patois*. Furthermore, there is not an *argot* peculiarly our own, not a jargon that we may reduce to written form and claim as the outgrowth of conditions exclusively American operating upon a class of our English-speaking citizens. In Louisiana and southern Mississippi a class of negroes, with a few whites added, speak a French "gombo," or mongrel *patois;* but it is not a dialect. Some scholarly trouble has been taken by investigators, among whom Professor Alcée Fortier, of Tulane University, New Orleans, deserves most distinguished notice, to reduce this "gombo" French to some sort of literary form; but none of the native, original speakers of it has ever made it into literature. It is, in fact, a jargon of French, Spanish, Italian, and English, irregularly formed and variously spoken by abjectly ignorant people, with blood in their veins as hopelessly mixed as the forms of their speech.

We see much about the "Hoosier" dialect of Indiana, the State in which the writer was born and in which he has spent the larger part of his life. After years of loving and patient study, based upon intimate familiarity with the people, he must say that the vulgar speech of the unlettered Indiana people differs in no essential or general feature from that of Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, or Kansas. As a matter of fact there is no "Hoosier" dialect. A marked difference, however, does exist between the intonation and pronunciation heard in the Southern States and the intonation and pronunciation heard in the Northern States. But nothing like an English dialect is discoverable in either section. In Indiana, for example, the population is mainly descended from New Englanders and Southerners, so that wherever we find illiterate

people of old Indiana stock they disclose their ancestry by certain Yankeeisms of speech, or certain peculiarities traceable to Virginia or Kentucky or some other Southern source. If conditions otherwhere in our country have been favorable to the evolution of a dialect Indiana certainly has not been a possible area for such a linguistic growth.

In various regions of the Southern mountains a picturesque, yet by no means uniform, preservation of the illiterate colonists' peculiarities of language is notable. Forms of phrases, obsolete or obsolescent words, old folklore sayings from the English peasantry of two hundred years ago linger in the talk of genuine Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee mountaineers. But the writer has ranged these mountains, has lived as a mountaineer, and knows the people of the Blue Ridge, the Cumberlands, and Sand Mountain as familiarly as he knows Indianians, and he must say that no mountain dialect exists among them. In one mountain valley or pocket they will pronounce chair "cheer," in another valley or pocket they will pronounce it "cher," in another "chayer," to rhyme with "gayer." The same variances attach to nearly or quite all of the mountain peculiarities. You can safely expect peculiarities of speech in every part of the mountains, but no peculiarity is uniform or persistent. The same may be said of the so-called "cracker" dialect. In the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi the piny woods people who are illiterate have badges of speech which betray their "cracker" origin; but they do not speak a dialect, and from neighborhood to neighborhood they are as variably inconsistent in their phrasing and pronunciation as the mountaineers. In fact, they have very many speech characteristics in common with their highland countrymen, the natural preservation of tongue traits caught from a common peasant ancestry. Isolation and illiteracy have been the preservers of old forms, sayings, and peasant traits; for illiteracy presents waste of effete language substance and at the same time retards the acquisition of new ideas, words, and turns of expression.

Professional *littérateurs*, especially critics who set up to teach the people in matters of art and literary culture, are culpably at fault when they speak of a "Hoosier" dialect,

a mountain dialect, or a "cracker" dialect. Scholars of the Old World do not fall into such an error. In France there are variations of language confined to certain areas, and these variations come very much nearer being dialects than anything that we have. Indeed, the Provençal is a language with a very beautiful literature of its own, a sort of connecting link between modern French and ancient Latin-French idioms. Its peculiarities take every possible form in shading off into French as spoken in Paris, and the little group of modern Provençal writers have a hard time keeping within the limits of their chosen literary area. In the fifteenth century Francis Villon, a poet of extraordinary genius, wrote some ballads in a French jargon, current among thieves, cut-purses, and gutter outlaws, which ballads are touched with the same fine power that has rendered his French poems immortal. We speak of Villon's achievements in the *jargon jobelin*, as his thief's language has been named, to keep in mind the fact that so-called dialect has had its fascination for genius ever since the dawn of the new learning in Europe. But there is scarcely a resemblance between this cult and the devotion given by Theocritus to his Doric dialect, or by Sappho to her Æolian. One is a mere experiment in the use of the debased forms to which ignorance and vicious usage have reduced a noble language. the other is the splendid natural operation by which a perfect language becomes perfect literature.

It is curiously apparent in our literature at present that the impulse toward the expression of illiteracy has its origin in some explicable, and perhaps excusable, human aspiration. When Bret Harte struck the vein of "dialect" in his "Heathen Chinee" and "Luck of Roaring Camp" the ore that he brought forth seemed to fill a need of the day, and ever since then men have been busy—nay, women, too—staking out and working claims in the same field. It is true that Lowell had written the "Bigelow Papars" long before Harte's star arose; but Lowell's mind was upon politics, and he made his illiterate man speak, not for himself, but for Lowell and his political poetry. Harte reversed all that. George W. Cable saw the use that might be made, not of the Louisiana *patois*, but of the lisping and mincing English of the French creoles. He

repeated Bret Harte's success in a field strangely different, yet just as American, and so it has passed on until almost half the fiction written in our country is "dialect" in whole or in part. James Whitcomb Riley has gained great fame with his illiterate poetry, and deserves all he has gained. Countless imitators have followed him, some of them with considerable success. And it is here, in verse, that the only persistent attempt has been made to make permanent literature out of illiteracy; that is, to put an avowed corruption of language seriously into literary form. For in prose the author usually sets his own thoughts into the best frame his English can make, while his imaginary characters speak in jargon. By this process both Harte and Cable have made their work real literature.

In Greek each dialect was a form or variation of the language capable of the loftiest expression of refined and cultivated thought, passion, imagery, aspiration. While the Æolian had its Sappho, the Dorian had its Theocritus—and the choice is not between high culture and abject ignorance. Theocritus sang his Arcadian idyls in language as beautiful and as artistically rounded as ever Sappho achieved.

It is not uninteresting to inquire and find out, if we can, what human need it is, what spiritual void, that this "dialect" movement in American literature attempts to fill and satisfy. No one, we assume, will contend that such stuff can become a permanent part of our literary art. We cannot conceive how, with the tremendous progress of education, the backwoods jargon can be kept alive many years longer, even in books and magazines. But why do we want it now? Is it because foreign critics, chiefly English, insist upon recognizing it as the only original and racy American literary achievement? Englishmen have but recently begun to treat our letters seriously, and even in seriousness they place Whitman above Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, and Lowell! Bret Harte's stories are thought more of than Hawthorne's or Poe's! We can readily feel how it is best to make a backwoods character speak in his own lingo—that is true art. But why is the story made for the backwoodsman, instead of being made in spite of him? Two thousand years and more ago the Sicilian poet knew better. Why do we now turn our backs upon polite literature, true

literature, artistic literature, to have our fill of "dialect?" It may be that we shall find the reason in our overproduction of fairly good books and in our plethora of newspaper and magazine products. Behind us the ages have heaped up an enormous treasure of all that is best in the expression of thought, feeling, life; we have but to turn to it and be rich. The best books have survived—and what thousands of them!

There would be reason in saying that we really do not need more books of great literature, since none of us can read the thousandth part of those we already have. Are we cloyed? Do we turn from Homer, Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, and Emerson to some clever sketcher of ungrammatical and orthographically absurd jargon because we are tired of the old masters? Do we really believe that Rudyard Kipling is a great poet singing the wonder-songs of our civilization, or are we using him as a momentary diversion from the stress of exalted contemplation? Shall we admit that "A rag, and a bone, and a hank of hair" is an adequate advance, in literary form and high appreciation of human possibilities, over and beyond "The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome?" Have we come to feel that it is best to turn away from

> Shining eyes, like antique jewels
> Set in Parian statue-stone,

and accept, instead,

> Eyes like two fried aigs,
> An' a nose like a Bartlett pear?

It is not pleasant to answer as truthfully as one could wish.

Another theory of explanation might be suggested. Recently two or three distinguished Americans, addressing a college constituency, have inveighed against classical study for young men. At least one of the speakers openly boasted that as for himself he knew neither Greek nor Latin; and yet he felt vastly competent to tell young men how utterly useless Greek and Latin would be to them! May it not be that our "dialect" cult is based in our ignorance? If classical studies are to be withdrawn from our colleges, and cast aside in our private selection of postgraduate literary pursuits, naturally enough the literature of ignorance may be expected to have its innings. If Walt Whitman is indeed the "representative

American poet," what use have we for second-rate singers like Bryant and Whittier? If we have concluded to be a people of "yawp," why not teach "yawp" in our schools and colleges instead of classical purity and beauty? We have been not a little surprised that Harvard, or Yale, or Columbia, or the old Virginia school of Lee, has not elected some ignorant clodhopper professor of "dialect," or of "Whitmanese," to teach young men how to be great and good Americans.

Unquestionably we have come to a very trying point in the highway of English letters. The mob has blocked the roadbed, and if there are a few giants they have a poor chance for battle in the midst of the blatant swarms of clever and even powerful strugglers for a place in print. There is a commercial equation carefully to be reckoned out by those who "handle" the manuscript wares, and authors themselves have shrewdly caught the trick of pandering to every sudden whim of the "trade." If it be "dialect" that must come forth, every mother's son and daughter will fall to with tongue and typewriter in breathless haste to be first at the publisher's door in the morning. Just now the hosts are exhausting themselves upon Kipling's ballads; you can hear them "Plunkin' from Lahore to Mandalay." We once saw an ancient guitar, the cherished property of a Southern woman of the old school of ladies. It was so worn by long usage—the fingering of centuries, perhaps—that the wooden frets were scooped out at the most-used positions into pits shaped like finger tips, and so it was no longer true as a musical instrument. Is our language outworn in all of its possible classical positions? Are the frets, found so available by Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Keats, and Tennyson, suddenly discovered to be finger-pitted beyond repair? What has happened during the last quarter of the nineteenth century to reverse the criticisms of ages, so that Æschylus and Vergil and Plato and Horace are no longer studiable? Why this sudden distaste for a

> Vintage that hath been
> Cooled a long age in the deep-delved earth?

And why this mad thirst for

> They ain't nothin' 'at I likes es well
> Es gingerbread an' pie.

Surely the sweet old frets must be spoiled! The lute has given place to the gourd fiddle, the flute to the tom-tom. In an address before a learned body—at least the body said it was learned—the writer gave utterance to some things nearly in this present key; and immediately afterward a young man with spectacles on and a countenance indicative of a desire to trample him approached and said, "But what have you to say about John Hay's 'Little Breeches?'" "Tell him," whispered a lady near, "tell him that they're too big for some men." We could not act upon her suggestion, but we were impressed with it. The legs of literature must be frightfully atrophied when they are lost in such garments, which may be worn occasionally in a jocund way for the sake of a comical change, but never as the habitual dress of genius.

Gravely then we may turn to the task of finding out, if we can, whether it is true that ignorance and illiteracy and "barbaric yawp" are the genuine characteristics of our American civilization. Certain it is that at this moment almost the whole of British literature is written with a view to the markets of the United States. Every English, Irish, and Scotch author has his heart set upon lecturing to us and flooding us with his books. But why so much regard for us if we are but Whitmanites and jargon lovers? Even Tennyson found his own in us, and William Watson, despite the terrible decree of minority issued against him by the *Quarterly Review*, feels his debt to us. We made Stevenson, and our "pie-belt" sent Kipling home fat, with his picture in every issue of every journal in our land, roughly speaking, so that it can hardly be true that Mr. Hawkins and Sir Walter Besant and all the rest of them really believe that our taste is best measured with the yardstick of ignorance. And good Ian Maclaren, too, walked sidewise, his left-hand pocket sagged so with its dollars, after he had lectured here! The tremendous fact is that we are the great reading people of the world; that we are as a people the most intelligent in the world, but, alas! the most careless in matters intellectual. We believe whatever the newspapers bring to us, especially if it have "Thus saith an English critic" tacked to it. We are happy-go-lucky in our reading, and like to be amused. In fact, we have not yet

passed the guffaw stage of humorous receptivity, and, the British sustaining us, we are inclined to accept Mark Twain as a leading classic, with Jerome K. Jerome a good second.

But we may try as hard and long as we please to find a royal road to genuine literary eminence; we shall not reach it save through high literary culture. Not every highly cultured person can be a literary artist, not every literary artist will be broadly cultured; but culture must be in the air he breathes, in the food he eats, in the influences that control him. The literary man who has a contempt for classical studies, models, triumphs, aims, is a failure from the ground up. He may have his little day and his little pot of money, but in the long run he will drop out and be lost. The muses do not recognize him. What is called "local color" is certainly an important factor in literary art; but the tendency to sacrifice the substance to the mere superficial tints is like painting the lichens on a ruin and leaving out the ruin, or like taking chlorophyll for spring. Ungrammatical talk and horse-play language are admissible in literature only where necessary to the perfection of a picture. They are discords which emphasize the harmony. The moment that "dialect" becomes the artist's aim, or his sole means, his work is doomed, no matter what triumph may momentarily crown it.

The most unpleasant impression made upon a serious and far-seeing mind by the conditions we have been so lightly discussing is that the desire to achieve notoriety has come to be the controlling one in the souls of writers. How disagreeably strange it is to see a poet grimacing at us, like a harlequin, out of the magazine space once occupied by Whittier or Longfellow! What a decline it is from "Chained in the market place he stood" to "Don' yo' see dat gal o' mine!" But the "dialect" writer does not wince; he sees his jargon in print, hears the plaudits of ignorance, and it all goes—

> Like a glorious roll of drums
> Through the triumph of his dream.

Athenia Thompson

Art. VIII.—TENNYSON IN NEW ASPECTS.

Now for the first time an accurate portrayal of a great and unique personality is made possible to the general reading public. Not that the novel aspects of Lord Tennyson's character and works are new to the elect few who were his tried and intimate friends, but that the misconceptions of the late laureate's life history will finally be removed from the minds of those to whom for half a century his name has been synonymous with the noblest functions of a bard. At length this prince of song takes his place in that clear light of truth and high renown where to see him is to love him for what he was within himself, as well as for what he wrought of profit and delight to the world.

The year 1809 is a memorable one, since it records the nativity of Alfred Tennyson, William E. Gladstone, Charles Darwin, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), and Felix Mendelssohn. Few single years in a century are so fruitful in greatness. Of right Tennyson's name takes its place at the head of this list, as he was *facile princeps* among his compeers. In him the mental restlessness, the earnest gropings toward the solution of moral problems, the almost despairing grasp upon the great, isolated, undemonstrable verities of the spiritual life, the certain yet conservative trend toward democracy—all characteristics of the age in which he lived—found their mysterious junction. He became, more than any other eminent thinker of his day, the representative voice of his generation. He was intensely conscious of his prophetic calling, being burdened all his life with the sense of a divine gift for the proper employment of which he must render due account. He was wont to say that sometimes the weight of his responsibility in this direction became well-nigh insupportable. But he never prostituted his large powers to ignoble ends. It might be written of him, as he himself wrote of Wordsworth, that he "uttered nothing base."

To preserve unimpaired his poetic talent and freedom Tennyson was willing to endure years of neglect and what was little better than poverty. Some of the shifts to which he

was put before his general recognition as a great poet were of an almost sordid kind; he rode in third-class passenger coaches, scarcely better than cattle cars, and when he could not afford to ride he walked. He borrowed books because he could not afford to buy them, and on the few trips he was permitted to take he sought the cheaper lodging houses because he could not afford to patronize better ones. He did not wed the woman of his choice until many years after he had first met and loved her; and in the interval of his poetic silence, when for ten years he gave nothing to the public which had scoffed at his muse, the engagement between himself and Miss Sellwood was terminated, as there seemed to be no prospect that he would ever be able to provide for a wife. Yet his high spirit was never broken, his manly independence was never compromised.

Alfred Tennyson was extremely fortunate in his friendships. From the beginning of his college days to the end of his long life he numbered among his friends some of the rarest spirits of the century. Fine minds gravitated toward him by a kind of natural law. Samuel Rogers, Edward Fitzgerald, James Spedding, W. E. Gladstone, Frederick D. Maurice, Edward Lear, G. F. Watts, Thomas Woolner, Robert Browning, Thomas Carlyle, Benjamin Jowett, F. T. Palgrave, William Allingham, J. M. Kemble, Henry Taylor, John Tyndall, Richard Monckton Milnes, G. S. Venables, Aubrey de Vere, W. M. Thackeray, John Forster, Henry Hallam, A. H. Clough, Matthew Arnold, and the Duke of Argyll—these were among those whom Tennyson knew and loved best. The supreme sorrow of his life was in the death of his most warmly cherished friend, Arthur Hallam. Tennyson's affection for this young man was singularly pure and deep. Hallam was engaged to Tennyson's sister, and was possessed of a subtle and commanding intellect. Among his college friends the consensus of opinion was that he—Hallam—and not Gladstone was the coming great man. When Arthur Hallam's life was suddenly terminated Alfred Tennyson was plunged into the profoundest grief. For years he brooded upon his sorrow, valiantly meeting the specters of his own mind and subduing them, until out of the stress and anguish of that bitter period

came "In Memoriam," the noblest elegiac poem to be found in any language of the world.

To prepare a just and adequate memoir of any eminent person requires a peculiar combination of qualities in the writer thereof—complete sympathy with the subject in hand, entire familiarity with the biographical data accessible, an even and well-balanced judgment, and unerring taste in the selection of material to be presented. In Hallam Tennyson's memoir of his illustrious father these qualities are combined in pleasing measure. A quiet reserve is manifest, such as characterized the poet himself in his attitude toward the public at large, but this reticence concerns mainly those more private affairs which are sacred to the domestic life. Yet even here the curtain is lifted now and again, affording charming glimpses of a great genius off guard and at ease in the serenity of the home circle. It is not the purpose of the writer of this paper to review the two stout octavo volumes in which are gathered by filial duty and affection the memorials of a rich and exalted life. To many who would peruse them with interest the price of these books will be prohibitive. Hence are set forth in the following pages such facts as have corrected the writer's own impressions of the late laureate and his environment and shed new light on some phases of his life and work.

No man more resented the impertinent inquisitiveness of a curiosity-loving public than did Alfred Tennyson. This feeling, experienced early in life, deepened and intensified to the end. Its degree may be partially determined by the following indignant lines:

> And you have miss'd the irreverent doom
> Of those that wear the poet's crown;
> Hereafter, neither knave nor clown
> Shall hold their orgies at your tomb.
>
> For now the poet cannot die,
> Nor leave his music as of old,
> But round him ere he scarce be cold
> Begins the scandal and the cry;
>
> Proclaim the faults he would not show;
> Break lock and seal; betray the trust;
> Keep nothing sacred; 'tis but just
> The many-headed beast should know.

The lion-hunting tourist was abhorrent to him. He was very near-sighted, and once when walking on the downs with a friend he saw some sheep which he mistook for tourists making toward him. He turned and fled incontinently for home. Tennyson desired that his life should be read in his published works. His son says:

> Besides the letters of my father and of his friends there are his poems, and in these we must look for the innermost sanctuary of his being. For my own part I feel strongly that no biographer could so truly give him as he gives himself in his own works. . . . He himself dislikes the notion of a long, formal biography, for
>
> None can truly write his single day,
> And none can write it for him upon earth.

Alfred Tennyson was born in his father's rectory at Somersby in Lincolnshire. The "long gray fields," the fens, the sluices, the wolds about his early home impressed him deeply, and so stimulated his young imagination that he almost "lisped in numbers." Edward Fitzgerald writes: "I used to say Alfred never should have left old Lincolnshire, where there were not only such good seas, but also such fine Hill and Dale among 'the Wolds,' which he was brought up in, as people in general scarce thought on." Alfred was the fourth of twelve children born to Rev. George Clayton Tennyson and Elizabeth Fytche. There were eight sons and four daughters, most of whom, it is averred, were more or less true poets. Of Alfred's earliest attempt at poetry he says:

> According to the best of my recollection, when I was about eight years old I covered two sides of a slate with Thomsonian blank verse in praise of flowers for my brother Charles, who was a year older than I was, Thomson then being the only poet I knew. Before I could read I was in the habit on a stormy day of spreading my arms to the wind, and crying out, "I hear a voice that's speaking in the wind," and the words "far, far away" had always a strange charm for me.

The latter statement will be interesting to those who recall the poet's beautiful lines beginning, "What sight so lured him thro' the fields he knew." It was on the lawn of the old rectory that Tennyson made his early song, "A spirit haunts the year's last hours." In his youth the laureate was an intense admirer of Lord Byron, whose influence is unmistaka-

bly revealed in the adolescent publication, *Poems by Two Brothers.* On hearing of Byron's death—April 19, 1824—"a day," he says, "when the whole world seemed to be darkened for me," he carved on a rock the words, "Byron is dead."

Tennyson was well-born. He had the inestimable advantage of good blood and right breeding. The poet's father was a man of dominating intellect. He was a Hebrew and Syriac scholar, and became proficient in the Greek language that he might teach it to his sons, whom he himself prepared for Cambridge. The rector of Somersby was endowed with a splendid physique, standing six feet two, and was an energetic and powerful man. Alfred inherited these noble physical proportions. Of the poet's great bodily strength Brookfield remarked, "It is not fair, Alfred, that you should be Hercules as well as Apollo." In proof of his strong muscular power it is related that when showing to some friends a little pet pony on the lawn at Somersby, one day, he surprised the spectators by taking it up and carrying it. Fitzgerald said, "Alfred could hurl the crowbar further than any of the neighboring clowns, whose humors, as well as those of their betters, knight, squire, landlord, and lieutenant, he took quiet note of, like Chaucer himself." Of the tender-heartedness of the poet's mother it is recorded that the boys of a neighboring village used to bring their dogs to Mrs. Tennyson's windows and beat them, in order to be bribed to leave off, or to induce her to buy them. One source of amusement at the rectory was "the writing of tales in letter form to be placed under the vegetable dishes at dinner, and read aloud when it was over." It is stated that the future laureate's tales "were very various in theme, some of them humorous and some savagely dramatic," and that his brothers and sisters "looked to him as their most thrilling story-teller." Though much ill-advised criticism was passed upon Tennyson at the time of his elevation to the peerage, the poet was a Tory by right of birth. His views of democracy were always of a conservative nature. This conservatism is well illustrated by his oft-repeated praises of the restrictive character of the fifth article of the American Constitution. Regard for the rights and duties of birth beat in the laureate's

blood. Tennyson's mother was Elizabeth Fytche. "The Fytches were a county family of old descent. The first name on the Fytche pedigree is John Fitch of Fitch castle in the North, who died in the twenty-fifth year of Edward I. His descendant, Thomas Fitch, was knighted by Charles II, 1679, served the office of high sheriff in Kent, and was created baronet September 7, 1688."

Probably no poet's muse ever brought him more substantial returns than did that of Alfred Tennyson, though the amount which he received per annum for his literary work has been much overrated. His income from his published works was never more than six thousand pounds a year, and during the latter years of his life was much less than that. The first money which he earned by his compositions was when, at his grandfather's desire, he wrote a poem on the death of his grandmother. The old gentleman presented him a half guinea with the remark, "Here is a half guinea for you, the first you have ever earned by poetry, and take my word for it, the last."

Alfred Tennyson matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, February 20, 1828. There his brother, Frederick Tennyson, was already a distinguished scholar. Alfred's friends and intimates at college were Spedding, author of the life of Bacon, Milnes (Lord Houghton), Trench (afterward Archbishop of London), Alford (afterward Dean of Canterbury), Brookfield, Blakesley (afterward Dean of Lincoln), Thompson, S. S. Rice, Merivale (afterward Dean of Ely), J. M. Kemble, Heath (senior wrangler 1832), Charles Buller, Monteith, Tennant, and A. H. Hallam. Here Tennyson moved as a highly esteemed equal among the brainiest of his associates. His personal peculiarities were respected, and the development of his genius was hailed with delight. The poet says, "I kept a tame snake in my rooms. I liked to watch his wonderful sinuosities on the carpet." The following verses on "The Moon," written at this period, show that the unique Tennyson style had even then been formed:

> Deep glens I found, and sunless gulfs,
> Set round with many a toppling spire,
> And monstrous rocks from craggy mounts,
> Disploding globes of roaring fire.

Large as a human eye the sun
Drew down the West his feeble lights;
And then a night, all moons, confused
The shadows from the icy heights.

Of the society of the "Apostles," an association of kindred spirits, Tennyson was an early member. "On stated evenings," says Carlyle, "was much logic, and other spiritual fencing, and ingenuous collision—probably of a really superior quality in that kind; for not a few of the then disputants have since proved themselves men of parts, and attained distinction in the intellectual walks of life." In this society of the "Apostles" were discussed such questions as the following: "Have Shelley's poems an immoral tendency?" Tennyson votes "No." "Is an intelligible First Cause deducible from the phenomena of the universe?" Tennyson votes "No." "Is there any rule of moral action beyond general expediency?" Tennyson votes "Aye." Tennant writing to Tennyson says:

Last Saturday we had an Apostolic dinner, when we had the honor among other things of drinking your health. Edmund Lushington and I went away tolerably early, but most of them stayed till past two. John Heath volunteered a song; Kemble got into a passion about nothing, but quickly jumped out again; Blakesley was afraid the proctor might come in; and Thompson poured large quantities of salt upon Douglas Heath's head, because he talked nonsense.

While yet in college Tennyson seems to have anticipated in effect the theory of evolution, which in later years was generally associated with the name of Charles Darwin. Tennyson says that "the development of the human body might possibly be traced from the radiated, vermicular, molluscous, and vertebrate organisms."

In 1830 the volume, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, was greeted with the appreciative applause of a small chorus of admiring friends. They prophesied the author's coming eminence, but the great world was indifferent. The previous year Arthur Hallam had written to W. E. Gladstone, "I consider Tennyson as promising fair to be the greatest poet of our generation." In 1831, after the death of Tennyson's father, when it appeared that the family were about to remove from Som-

ersby, Arthur Hallam in a spirit of prophecy wrote to Emily Tennyson, to whom he had been attached for about two years:

> Many years, perhaps, or shall I say many ages, after we all have been laid in dust, young lovers of the beautiful and the true may seek in faithful pilgrimage the spot where Alfred's mind was molded in silent sympathy with the everlasting forms of nature. Legends will perhaps be attached to the places that are near it. Some Mariana, it will be said, lived wretched and alone in a dreary house on the top of the opposite hill. Some Isabel may with more truth be sought nearer yet. The belfry in which the white owl sat "warming his five wits" will be shown for sixpence to such travelers as have lost their own. Critic after critic will track the wanderings of the brook, or mark groupings of elm and poplar, in order to verify the "Ode to Memory," in its minutest particulars.

At this time Tennyson's simple and abounding gladness merely to be alive is well expressed in a certain sonnet entitled "Life."

> Why suffers human life so soon eclipse?
> For I could burst into a psalm of praise,
> Seeing the heart so wondrous in her ways,
> E'en scorn looks beautiful on human lips!
> Would I could pile fresh life on life, and dull
> The sharp desire of knowledge still with knowing!
> Art, science, nature, everything is full,
> As my own soul is full, to overflowing—
> Millions of forms, and hues, and shades, that give
> The difference of all things to the sense,
> And all the likeness in the difference.
> I thank thee, God, that thou hast made me live:
> I reck not for the sorrow or the strife:
> One only joy I know, the joy of life.

At Cambridge the "Palace of Art" was passed about in manuscript among an elect few, who admired it according to its deserts. In 1832 Tennyson gave to the world another volume of poems which, despite the high expectations of his friends, was but coldly received by the general public. The *Quarterly Review* was very savage in its onslaught upon the poet. In vain his friends endeavored to cheer him by telling him that "his very creative originality and unlikeness to any poet, his uncommon power over varied meters and rare harmonies of sound and sense needed the creation of a taste for his work before he could be appreciated." An old Lincolnshire squire,

however, expressed the estimation in which the *Quarterly* was generally held when he said to Tennyson that the *Quarterly* "was the next book to God's Bible." After the publication of the 1832 volume ten years elapsed before the poet again addressed the reading world. Tennyson was deeply discouraged. He fancied that England was an uncongenial atmosphere, and began to think of living abroad in Jersey, in the south of France, or in Italy. "He was so far persuaded that the English people would never care for his poetry that, had it not been for the intervention of friends, he declared it not unlikely that after the death of Hallam he would not have continued to write."

The last letter which Tennyson received from his friend Hallam contained these manuscript lines:

> I do but mock me with the questionings.
> Dark, dark, irrecoverably dark
> Is the soul's eye; yet how it strives and battles
> Through the impenetrable gloom to fix
> That master light, the secret truth of things,
> Which is the body of the Infinite God.

Arthur Hallam died at Vienna, September 15, 1833. When his father returned from his usual daily walk he saw Arthur asleep, as he supposed, upon the couch. A blood vessel near the brain had suddenly burst; the young man was not asleep, but dead. The germ of that great threnody, "In Memoriam"—the one adequate and matchless elegy in any language—appears in the following fragment:

> Where is the voice I loved? ah, where
> Is that dear hand that I would press?
> Lo! the broad heavens cold and bare,
> The stars that know not my distress!
> . . . . . .
> The vapor labors up the sky,
> Uncertain forms are darkly moved!
> Larger than human passes by
> The shadow of the man I loved,
> And clasps his hands, as one that prays!

Under the shadow of this great loss and sorrow was begun the poem entitled "The Two Voices." The poet was most exacting as to his art. It is said that "The Brook" was

actually rescued from the waste-paper heap. His fine sense of proportion caused him to elide from "The Two Voices" so excellent a stanza as this:

> From when his baby pulses beat
> To when his hands in their last heat
> Pick at the death-mote in the sheet.

To adverse criticism Tennyson was sensitive in an extreme degree; not, he declared, so far as his art was concerned, but because of the petty personal spites and wretched meannesses disclosed. On the other hand, intelligent praise instantly gave him encouragement, and a favorable review from far-off Calcutta could so brace the poet's spirits as to make him warm to his work. We are told that the localities of Tennyson's subject poems are wholly imaginary. He himself says of "The Miller's Daughter," which was much altered and enlarged from the edition of 1832, "The mill was no particular mill; if I thought at all of any mill, it was that of Trumpington near Cambridge."

The grandfather desired to make parsons of all the Tennyson brothers, but only one—Charles—fulfilled this pious wish. Charles and Alfred married sisters, daughters of Henry Sellwood, Esq. Arthur Hallam, who was visiting at Somersby rectory, asked Emily Sellwood to walk with him in the Fairy Wood. At a turn of the path they came upon Alfred Tennyson, "who, at the sight of the slender, beautiful girl of seventeen in her simple gray dress, moving 'like a light across the woodland ways,' suddenly said to her, 'Are you a dryad or an oread wandering here?'" The long-dreaded separation from Somersby took place in 1837. After this the Tennysons flitted several times, first to High Beech in Epping Forest, then to Tunbridge Wells, thence to Boxley near Maidstone. In 1839 the poet wrote to Emily Sellwood, his future wife, "Perhaps I am coming to the Lincolnshire coast, but I scarcely know. The journey is so expensive and I am so poor." Again, "I shall never see the Eternal City, nor that dome, the wonder of the world; I do not think I would live there if I could, and I have no money for touring." After 1840 all correspondence between Alfred Tennyson and Emily Sellwood was forbidden, since there seemed to

be no prospect of their ever being married, owing to a perpetual want of funds. The poet was forty-one years old when he at length found it possible to wed the woman of his choice. Not until that time did his poems bring him even a limited competency. His courtship was a long romance of hope, and patience, and trust. In after years he said of his bride, "The peace of God came into my life before the altar when I wedded her." She was the poet's earliest and latest critic, to whose judgment he always deferred. Their domestic life was supremely happy, and of the wife some of her friends were wont to say, "She is as great as Alfred." As an illustration of her character Jowett was told by Tennyson that his wife once said, "When I pray I see the face of God smiling upon me." Tennyson's memory of his mother, whose portrait he has so beautifully drawn in "The Princess," and the poet's gentle and lovely wife increased, if possible, his natural chivalry toward women. Before his marriage he thus writes to Miss Sellwood: "A good woman is a wondrous creature, cleaving to the right and the good in all change, lovely in her youthful comeliness, lovely all her life long in comeliness of heart." To a friend he said, "I would pluck my hand from a man, even if he were my greatest hero, or dearest friend, if he wronged a woman, or told her a lie."

We learn that it was in the latter part of 1837, or the beginning of 1838, that Tennyson appears to have first become known in America. About that time Ralph Waldo Emerson somehow made acquaintance with the 1830 and 1832 volumes, and delighted in lending them to his friends. In November, 1850, after the death of Wordsworth, Alfred Tennyson was appointed poet-laureate. The appointment was owing chiefly to Prince Albert's admiration for "In Memoriam." From this time onward more prosperous days began to dawn upon him. Previously, because of straitened circumstances, he had ridden in third-class railway carriages, and had complained that it was "expensive being at an inn." Six years later, upon the publication of "Maud," of which thirty thousand copies were sold immediately, he was enabled to purchase with the proceeds of the sale of that poem the beautiful home at "Farringford" in the Isle of Wight. What other poet, of this or any former

century, was possessed of two such homes as "Farringford" and "Aldworth?"

Perhaps we may again advert to the senseless outcry which was raised when Tennyson accepted a place in the House of Lords. In reply to a letter from Gladstone upon the subject the poet wrote:

I speak frankly to you when I say that I had rather we should remain plain "Mr." and "Mrs." and that, if it were possible, the title should first be assumed by our son at any age it may be thought right to fix upon; but, like enough, this is against all precedent, and could not be managed; and on no account would I have suggested it were there the least chance of the queen's construing it into a slight of the proffered honor. I hope that I have too much of the old-world loyalty left in me not to wear my lady's favors against all comers, should you think that it would be more agreeable to her majesty that I should do so.

It was with reluctance that Tennyson finally accepted a barony, after a baronetcy had been three times previously urged upon him. He makes his own position sufficiently clear in the following lines to a friend:

Why should I be selfish and not suffer an honor—as Gladstone says—to be done to literature in my name? For myself I felt, especially in the dark days that may be coming on, that a peerage might possibly be more of a disadvantage than an advantage to my sons; I cannot tell. I have been worried because, being of a nervous, sensitive nature, I wished as soon as possible to get over the disagreeable results, and the newspaper comments and abuse.

Tennyson's political utterances are among the wisest of his time. He was deeply interested in the politics of the world, particularly whatever affected his own country. Speaking of England and Ireland, he said:

The Celtic race does not easily amalgamate with other races, as those of Scandinavian origin do, as for instance Saxon and Norman, which have fused perfectly. The Teuton has no poetry in his nature like the Celt, and this makes the Celt much more dangerous in politics, for he yields more to his imagination than his common sense. Yet his imagination does not allow of his realizing the sufferings of poor dumb beasts. The Irish are difficult for us to deal with. For one thing the English do not understand their innate love of fighting, words and blows. If on either side of an Irishman's road to paradise shillalahs grew, which automatically hit him on the head, yet he would not be satisfied. Suppose that we allowed Ireland to separate from us; owing to its factions she

would soon fall a prey to some foreign power. She has absolute freedom now, and a more than full share in the government of one of the mightiest empires in the world. Whatever she may say, she is not only feudal, but oriental, and loves those in authority over her to have the iron hand in the silken glove. Let the demagogues remember, "Liberty forgetful of others is license, and nothing better than treason." . . . It was the mob who smashed the Duke of Wellington's windows on the anniversary of Waterloo. As Goethe says, "The worst thing in the world is ignorance in motion."

He thus writes to Walt Whitman regarding the American Constitution:

The coming year should give new life to every American who has breathed a breath of that soul which inspired the great founders of the American Constitution, whose work you are to celebrate. Truly, the mother country, pondering on this, may feel that how much soever the daughter owes to her she, the mother, has nevertheless something to learn from the daughter. Especially I would note the care taken to guard a noble Constitution from rash and unwise innovators. . . . Every agitator should be made to prove his means of livelihood.

Once more:

We ought not to show our arsenals and dockyards to the world, as we do. Want of confidence is hateful among members of a family, but want of confidence is necessary among nations.

The earliest memorandum for the King Arthur epics is extremely interesting. In it the poet says: "Two Guineveres. Y^e^ first prim. Christianity. 2^d^ Roman Catholicism. Y^e^ first is put away and dwells apart. 2^d^ Guinevere flies. Arthur takes to the first again, but finds her changed by lapse of time." For thirty years Tennyson meditated the Arthurian poems. Like Milton before him, he had early been impressed by the legend of King Arthur, and intended to weave it into a new form. In view of the various interpretations which have been put upon the "Idylls of the King" the poet's own explanation of them is of value. "The whole," he said, "is the dream of man coming into practical life and ruined by one sin. Birth is a mystery and death is a mystery, and in the midst lies the table-land of life and its struggles and performances. It is not the history of one man or of one government, but of a whole cycle of generations."

Alfred Tennyson was always reverent toward revealed religion and respectful toward its ministers. He said of the

Bible that it "ought to be read, were it only for the sake of the grand English in which it is written, an education in itself." Once in a serious illness he said of the Book of Job that he thought it "one of the greatest of books," and asked to have read to him the "little children, love one another" passage from St. John, and also the Sermon on the Mount, for which he possessed a measureless admiration. His attitude toward Christ was that of an old saint or mystic. It was his opinion that "The Son of Man" was "the most tremendous title possible;" and that the "most pathetic utterance in all history was that of Christ on the cross, 'It is finished,' after that passionate cry, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" Said he, "Indeed, what matters it how much man knows and does, if he keeps not a reverential looking upward? He is only the subtlest beast in the field." It was thus he regarded prayer: "Prayer is, to take a mundane simile, like opening a sluice between the great ocean and our little channels when the great sea gathers itself together and flows in at full tide. . . . Prayer on our part is the highest aspiration of the soul." He discoursed much with his friends on religious questions, and of Christianity observed, "It is tugging at my heart." He further said:

Almost the finest summing up of religion is to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. . . . Take away the sense of individual responsibility, and men sink into pessimism and madness. . . . Man's free will is but a bird in the cage; he can stop at the lower perch, or he can mount to a higher. Then that which is and knows will enlarge his cage, give him a higher and higher perch, and at last break off the top of his cage, and let him out to be one with the free will of the universe. . . . It is motive, it is the great purpose, which consecrates life. The real test of a man is not what he knows, but what he is in himself and in his relation to others. For instance, can he battle against his own bad inherited instincts, or brave public opinion in the cause of truth? The love of God is the true basis of duty, truth, reverence, loyalty, love, virtue, and work. I believe in these, although I feel the emptiness and hollowness of much of life. "Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect." . . . Evil must come upon us headlong, if morality tries to get on without religion. . . . Beware of breaking up the soil of any faith when you have no better seed to sow. . . . I dread the losing hold of forms. I have expressed this in my "Akbar." There must be forms, yet I hate the need for so many sects and separate services.

His faith in a divine Personality was absolute, as many rememberable utterances testify:

> I should infinitely rather feel myself the most miserable wretch on the face of the earth with a God above than the highest type of a man standing alone. . . . The soul seems to me one with God. I can sympathize with God in my poor little way. . . . It is hard to believe in God; but it is harder not to believe. I believe in God, not from what I see in nature, but from what I find in man. . . . Love is the highest we feel, therefore we must believe that "God is love." We cannot but believe that the creation is infinite, if God is infinite. . . . I believe that God reveals himself in every individual soul; and my idea of heaven is perpetual ministry of one soul to another.

In April, 1886, the poet was called upon to enter the deep waters of an overwhelming sorrow in the death of his son Lionel, who passed away on shipboard as he was returning from India, and was buried in the Red Sea. It is written of this son that from his "earliest childhood his had always been an affectionate and beautiful nature." The faith which the laureate had so long cherished in the immortality of the soul now afforded him supreme solace. His utterances touching this great subject are as trenchant as they are wise. He came much into contact with the agnosticism of the day, but never for a moment loosed his grasp of the eternal hope. He declared the after-life to be the cardinal part of Christ's teaching. When Tyndall once said to him, "God and spirit I know, and matter I know; and I believe in both," remarking further, "we may all be absorbed into the Godhead," Tennyson replied, "Suppose that he is the real person, and we are only relatively personal." He was interested to learn that Tyndall was convinced that life could not originate without life. In a manuscript note upon his poem "Vastness" he has recorded the following: "What matters anything in this world without full faith in the immortality of the soul and of love?" In a letter to the queen he writes: "As to the sufferings of this momentary life, we can but trust that in some after state, when we see clearer, we shall thank the Supreme Power for having made us, through these, higher and greater beings." A lady whose friend he had been from her childhood he thus consoles upon the loss of her son:

The son whom you so loved is not really what we call dead, but more actually living than when alive here. You cannot catch the voice, or feel the hands, or kiss the cheeks, that is all; a separation for an hour, not an eternal farewell. If it were not so that which made us would seem too cruel a power to be worshiped, and could not be loved.

He addresses the following words to Lord Houghton on the death of the latter's wife: "I may say that I think I can see, as far as anyone can see in this twilight, that the nobler nature does not pass from its individuality when it passes out of this one life."

As a dramatic writer Tennyson will be esteemed more highly with the lapse of time. When his plays first appeared almost without exception they were decried by all except a few special friends. The "general," to whom "Harold," "May," and "Becket" were "caviare," seemed to resent his putting aside his character as a lyric and epic poet to become a dramatist. Yet his dramas were admired by such rare judges of literary excellence as James Spedding, George H. Lewes, and George Eliot. Tennyson knew when his work was good and was willing that it should wait for the ratification of time. Said he, "Thank God, the time is past for the press to make or mar a poem, play, or artist. Few original things are well received at first. People must grow accustomed to what is out of the common before adopting it." From bitter moods of despondency the poet was preserved by a quiet and sometimes grim sense of humor and of the dramatic aspect of things. He used to tell with delight of Aubrey de Vere's view of eternal punishment: "Of course it will be listening to Huxley and Tyndall disputing eternally on the nonexistence of God."

Throughout his life the laureate was an idealist of the noblest type. He dwelt habitually in the region of rare and beautiful fancies, yet his outlook upon life was ever sane and just. He never for a moment failed to discern the unity of the highest art and the highest morality. Said he:

"I agree with Wordsworth that art is selection. Look at Zola, for instance: he shows the evils of the world without the ideal. His art becomes monstrous therefore, because he does not practice selection. In the noblest genius there is need of self-restraint." "The moral higher imagination enslaved to sense is like an eagle caught by the feet in a snare, baited with carrion, so that it cannot use its wings to soar."

His final views concerning woman and her relation to the world did not differ from those so luminously set forth in "The Princess." One of his latest dicta was: "Especially do I want people to recognize that the women of our western hemisphere represent the highest type of women, greatly owing to the respect and honor paid to them by men, but that the moment the honor and respect are diminished the high type of woman will vanish." That the loftiest inspirations belong to the ideal world he declared when he said, "Poetry is truer than fact." We are told that with passionate earnestness he once spoke: "Yes, it is true that there are moments when the flesh is nothing to me, when I feel and know the flesh to be the vision, God and the spiritual the only real and true. Depend upon it, the spiritual is the real; it belongs to one more than the hand and the foot."

Tennyson was an incessant reader in all directions—travels, astronomy, natural science, philosophy, and theology. His literary taste was of a most catholic nature. He kept abreast of the literary development of his time, and read Stevenson, George Meredith, Walter Besant, Black, Hardy, Henry James, Marion Crawford, Anstey, Barrie, Blackmore, Conan Doyle, Miss Braddon, Miss Lawless, Ouida, Miss Broughton, Lady Margaret Majendie, Edna Lyall, Mrs. Oliphant, Hall Caine, and J. H. Shorthouse. His observations concerning men and books were as trenchant as they were true:

"Keats is not a master of blank verse." He "promised securely more than any other English poet since Milton." "Byron's merits are on the surface. This is not the case with Wordsworth. You must love Wordsworth ere he will seem worthy of your love." "Browning never greatly cares about the glory of words or beauty of form. . . . He has plenty of music in him, but he cannot get it out."

Of George Eliot's novels he liked best *Adam Bede*, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, and *Silas Marner*. *Romola* he thought somewhat out of her depth.

Alfred Tennyson was characterized by the utmost simplicity of life. He loved Nature in her every mood, and she took him to her inmost heart. It is recorded of him that "throughout the winter he fed the thrushes and other birds as usual out of his window." Nor was he a recluse, but on the contrary an

extremely hospitable man. He generally urged a parting guest's return with the words, "Come whenever you like." Though relentlessly pursued by curiosity hunters, and apparently sometimes abrupt and brusque, he was really a patient and tolerant man. One day an American suddenly appeared at Aldworth, saying that he had worked his way across the Atlantic in a cattle ship in order to recite "Maud" to the author thereof. The poet pitied the man, listened to the recitation, and paid the reciter's passage back to America.

Tennyson was an artificer in words. The glory and the value of language afforded him perpetual satisfaction. It was his custom to express in a line or two awe-inspiring and beautiful phases of natural phenomena; these lines were written down in notebooks and afterward duly and fittingly incorporated in poems now familiar to the world. It has been well said that "The Talking Oak" is an example of Tennyson's unusual power of humanizing external nature and of investing it with the feelings and attributes of human kind. It is interesting to know, on the authority of the laureate himself, that the lines,

> I held it truth with him who sings
> To one clear harp in divers tones,

have reference to Goethe, for whom Tennyson entertained an abiding admiration.

Though the poet was excessively shy in the presence of strangers, when the strangeness had worn away his companionship was delightful. One of his friends speaks of his "gay, boyish humor, the sunny sweetness, the delight in life that never failed." Jowett says:

> His repertory of stories was perfectly inexhaustible; they were often about slight matters that would scarcely bear repetition, but were told with such lifelike reality that they convulsed his hearers with laughter. Like most story-tellers, he often repeated his favorites; but, like children, his audience liked hearing them again and again, and he enjoyed telling them. It might be said of him that he told more stories than anyone, but was by no means the regular story-teller. In the commonest conversation he showed himself a man of genius.

Tennyson's conversation was of so rich and varied a kind and the choiceness of his language was such that Fitzgerald

once declared, "I wish I had been A. T.'s Boswell." In his domestic life the poet was happy beyond measure. He greeted his friends within the portals of his home with a cordiality and unaffected courtesy possible only to a great nature. There, upon request, to rapt listeners he would read his poems in that full organ-voice of which Carlyle once remarked, "It is like the sound of a pinewood." Edmund Lushington also speaks of "the deep melodious thunder" of the laureate's voice. His reading of "Guinevere" once made George Eliot weep. Tennyson's heart was ever tender and kind, and moved by the most precious instincts of the race. Of vivisection he said:

> Without anæsthetics no animal should be cut open for the sake of science. I have been reading of the horrible and brutal experiments in Italy and France, and my whole heart goes out to a certain writer in the *Spectator*, who declared he had yet to find out mankind was worth the cruel torture of a single dumb animal.

He writes to Mary Howitt concerning the household affections: "I wish that we Englanders dealt more in such symbols, that we dressed our affections up in a little more poetical costume; real warmth of heart would lose nothing, rather gain by it. As it is, our manners are as cold as the walls of our churches."

Lord Tennyson was a man of wide learning. He was familiar with the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, German, and Italian languages, and had some acquaintance with the Persian. He was young in heart to the very last, as all great genius has ever been. One of his favorite sayings was, "Make the lives of children as beautiful and as happy as possible." His was an ingenuous and confiding nature, unworldly in the sense that in thought he abode in pure regions above the sordid things of life. At least one of his friends has said that his entire trustfulness was sometimes almost pathetic. His personal appearance was such as to command attention wherever he might be. The following is Carlyle's portrait of the poet:

> Some weeks ago, one night, the poet Tennyson and Matthew Allen were discovered here smoking in the garden. Tennyson had been here before, but was still new to Jane, who was alone for the first hour or two of it. A fine, large-featured, dim-eyed, bronze-colored, shaggy-headed

man is Alfred; dusty, smoky, free and easy; who swims outwardly and inwardly, with great composure in an articulate element as of tranquil chaos and tobacco smoke; great now and then when he does emerge; a most restful, brotherly, solid-hearted man.

Mrs. Carlyle's portrait of the poet is equally vivid and characteristic:

Get his [Tennyson's] poems if you can, and read the "Ulysses," "Dora," the "Vision of Sin," and you will find that we do not overrate him. Besides, he is a very handsome man, and a noble-hearted one, with something of the gypsy in his appearance, which for me is perfectly charming. Babbie never saw him, unfortunately, or perhaps I should say fortunately, for she must have fallen in love with him on the spot, unless she be made absolutely of ice; and then men of genius have never anything to keep wives upon.

A delineation by still another hand affords us an additional impression of the poet's uniqueness and individuality:

I saw a tall, large figure, cloak and large black wide-awake. He had no beard or mustache. I recollect being impressed with the beauty and power of his mouth and chin. His face is full of power and thought; a deep furrow runs from nose to chin on either side, and gives a peculiar expression to the face; a lofty forehead adds to this. I remember the splendor of his eyes.

A great personality is always, in an appreciable degree, an accurate embodiment of the age in which he lives. Thus Tennyson gave voice to the unrest, the forebodings, the conquests, the questionings, and the aspirations of this transitional century. Though he heard "the sullen Lethe rolling doom" on all things here, the world will not permit his name to perish while manhood, faith, and duty, and the love of the good, the beautiful, and the true, are cherished among our kind. As Froude has said, the world will not soon see such another, for the modern unquiet, impatient *zeitgeist* is against the production of any such great meditative spirit. In the Pantheon of England's glory and renown, "where the huge minster's shadowy arches soar," there rests no more sacred dust than that of Alfred Tennyson.

James B. Kenyon.

Art. IX.—HOW JESUS BECAME THE SAVIOUR.

It may appear to savor of arrogance for anyone at this late day to attempt to throw any new light on the personality of our Lord. So much has been written, so many have made it a life study, so much controversy has the question awakened, so devoutly have scholarship and genius bowed at the Redeemer's feet, seeking fervently to know him, that it might be readily concluded nothing new could ever be set forth. Yet if theology is a progressive science—and probably a large majority of close thinkers and observers would unhesitatingly affirm that it is—where in its realm should one most reasonably expect new developments or advance? Certainly in relation to its largest, choicest truths and sublimest mysteries. It is far easier to climb the artificial mound in a city park, and from its elevated arbor gaze on path, lawn, cascade, and passing equipage than to scale the Himalayas and look down on gigantic peaks, yawning chasms, perpetual glaciers, and extensive prospects. So the simple truths of the Gospel charm and satisfy the multitude, while few care to surmount the majestic altitudes of its larger mysteries. Here, then, where few aspire to stand, can be most reasonably expected disclosures of long-hidden truth, or new views of truth which, having been placed in attractive formula by some daring mountain climber of long ago, has remained unchallenged because few cared to toil up the heights for the purpose of personal investigation.

All our utterances will cluster around and relate to two propositions which we shall seek to maintain: (1) Jesus was at birth undeveloped; (2) Jesus grew to be, and by growth became, the Saviour.

To state that Jesus was at birth undeveloped in respect to his body will awaken neither surprise nor challenge. By precisely the same processes as we have assimilated food till our maturity was attained, so Jesus ate, drank, and slept until of full stature. But little difference of view will be found also in regard to the statement that his mental growth was like that of all, the taint and bias of sin in its relation to mental development alone excepted. By application, investigation, com-

parison, meditation, and memory he "grew, and waxed strong, filled with wisdom." Just as Moses became "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," so "Jesus advanced in wisdom." But as Christ was greater than Moses his advancement was doubtless of proportionate rapidity, yet never so rapid as to involve the supernatural, or to be otherwise than that of the ideal, sinless, model human student. Up to the time of his crucifixion Christ was a student still, exploring the field of the unknown, and rewarded by discoveries and surprises by day and by night. Did he know the thoughts of men? It was because his mission demanded this miraculous assistance—like Daniel in the interpretation of the king's forgotten dream—not because of his association with the divine. God alike qualifies all his workmen for the achievement of their work. No prophet is alone when intrusted with a message. We all may become "partakers of the divine nature" to the extent of our faith and need; Jesus was more divine than any other because of his perfect faith and his unique mission as Saviour of the world.

Spiritually also he was undeveloped at birth. His successive acts of obedience brought him into closer fellowship with God, just as we climb the holy hill, save that in his case the perversion of and the inclination to sin were wnating. Temptation was to him not only awfully real, as to us, but was overcome only by grace from God, not in his own strength. He needed watchfulness and prayer lest Satan should gain advantage over him. He needed to look up, not alone for us and the world, but for his own instruction, consolation, direction, and succor. His mode of victory is our method of conquest. His source of supply is the place where we may secure our daily bread. The way of relief from the tempter's power which he found is open to our feet. The heart of love which extended constant sympathy to his eager footsteps marks every inch of our way and numbers our hairs. The wisdom which saved him from mistake is accessible to his weakest follower, and the selection of our mission in life is made by the One who appointed Christ to be the Redeemer of the world.

The special point, however, which we have to present is that also in respect to his divinity he was at birth unde-

veloped. That there was a special sense in which "that holy thing" to be born of Mary should be "called the Son of God," even before his birth and from his beginnings—a difference specially required for his mission—does not antagonize the statement that in this particular also, as well as the three named above, he passed from the embryonic to the mature "Son of God." That it is written, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," does indeed affirm with unequivocal distinctness both his complete humanity and his complete divinity, but does by no means affirm these of the infant of an hour old as he lay in the Bethlehem manger. Of all the problems relating to Christ which perplex none is more full of perplexity than the blending of two natures in one personality. It elucidates this problem but little to call attention to the tripartite nature of man; but possibly it is well to note that this triple nature is in each particular undeveloped at birth, and under normal conditions is developed with equal progress in body, mind, and spirit. Is not the mode and possibility of similar parallel progress in respect to the nature of Christ outlined by this fact of our experience? A legitimate and pertinent inquiry is, When and how are we made to be "partakers of the divine nature?" And the answer in our opinion throws a flood of light on how Jesus became the fully divine Saviour of the world. "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom." "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow." "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become sons of God." And again, "The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master." Does not this birth of ours into the divine, this growing "up into him in all things" "till we all come . . . unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ," almost demonstrate that our Elder Brother trod the same path to his maturity of the divine?

Now let it be noted that this is far from affirming that the divinity which was in Christ developed. He, the Saviour, the God-man, grew. He became more fully divine by repeated—

daily, perhaps—accessions and impartations of the divine, until by his sufferings he was perfected as "the only begotten of the Father." With regard to some of the more remarkable of these accessions we have such record as permits little doubt to remain. While in Nazareth, a child, it is written of him that the "grace [or favor] of God was upon him." But when, at the age of twelve, by the direction of the Father and the assistance of the doctors of the law he had the first distinct glimpse of his peculiar mission as the world's Passover, and hesitated not to accept it as revealed to him, it is written, "Jesus advanced . . . in favor [or grace] with God." After his baptism it is written for the first time of him, "And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost." Now it had become possible to truthfully declare, "Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased." Subsequently, on the mount of transfiguration, after the details of his sufferings had been announced to him by his heavenly visitors, and he had again accepted his cross with all its unfolding horrors, it was added by the Father, "Hear ye him," thus conferring the authority of independent utterance because of his added divinity. Again, when already under the shadow of the cross, proclaiming the fact of his death for the salvation of the world, he adds, "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour; but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name," "Give me strength to be as the 'corn of wheat' for thy glory." And then, it is written, "came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again." The work begun in him and by him should be perfected; he should become the perfect Saviour and Redeemer. In harmony with this thought we find no declaration of Christ's complete divinity, except by prophetic anticipation, till after his resurrection. Then Paul writes of him that he is "declared to be the Son of God with power . . . by the resurrection from the dead." And in another place the apostle says of him, "Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the

author of eternal salvation." "For it became him . . . to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

It may give weight to the reasons already given for our position to raise the question, why, if Jesus was completely divine at birth, he did not then commence his ministry, or suffer the death on the cross? If there were no need of growth in this respect, of discipline on the part of our Elder Brother, in order to his complete development as our Saviour, why the thirty weary years of waiting and retirement? It would have needed no greater manifestation of miraculous power to have made him a mature man of thirty than a babe in the womb of the Virgin. In our view this theory of the development of the Saviour gives unity to his personality not otherwise declared. To say, as is usually done, that his ignorance, his weakness, his hunger, and his weariness are to be predicated alone of his humanity, and to assume that his divinity was all along subject to no limitations, is to set forth a grotesque and awkward, an unthinkable and unexplainable duality of nature utterly without either analogy, precedent, example, or parallel in the entire universe of God. On the other hand, to assume that the divine and the human were blended in one nature, and that each partook of the other more and more as maturity approached, that the human was transfigured and ennobled by divine contact and communication, is to set forth a theory for which all nature is thronged with analogy. The air is one, yet oxygen and nitrogen compose it. But by composing it each loses its identity save through the magic wand of the chemist. The plant is a unit, and it would be construed as singularly conclusive of ignorance or redolent of eccentricity to discuss the behavior of the plant as explainable by the silica, the iron, the water, or the life which constitute its identity and individuality. The elements of its construction are lost in the development of a new unit in the variety of being. So man is a complex unit; matter allies him to the mountain, life to the vegetable, choice to the animal; will, worship, conception, and memory join him to the race, and an access or communication of the divine to God himself; yet each element is lost in the structure of manhood. Either element lacking in proportion, the result is more or less of a monstrosity, instead of the splen-

did, full-orbed being designed by our Creator. Either element totally wanting, manhood is dethroned and death has claimed his victim. For purposes of discussion and instruction it may be excused that we speak of the will, the memory, or the right arm as doing this or executing that; but exact science knows of no such division or divorce of the elements of his being. So Christ was born to become the Saviour; and at no time of his existence, past, present, or future, can it be correctly affirmed, save as a concession to immaturity or imperfect instruction of human intellect, that his humanity thought thus, or was limited thus; or that his divinity planned this, or knew this, or did this. Christ smiled in the cradle and wept at the grave of Lazarus; Christ touched the leper and stilled the tempest; Christ carried our sorrows and dried our tears; Christ is with us always to listen to our prayers and alleviate our pain. He died on Calvary, rose from the dead by his inherent energy, "ascended up on high," and "ever liveth to make intercession" for us.

This theory may at first sight appear to contradict the eternity and divinity of the Word. But a little consideration will discover that there is no manner of difference in respect to the fact between this and the view usually accepted, but only a difference of view as to the manner of contact and blending of the Word with human nature. While it obviously enriches our conception of the inheritance through Christ, and exalts and unfolds the sublime possibilities proceeding from our relation to him by diminishing the differences and increasing the similarities of family resemblance as children of the same Father, it at the same time suggests new views of the quality, reality, possibility, and meaning of the Saviour's temptation. Perhaps a careful study of its relation to the scene of Gethsemane and the cross may throw new light on those awfully sublime events. But it is foreign to our purpose to enter upon these fascinating themes. If our leading propositions have been set forth with reasonable distinctness we rest content.

Henry G. Bibbie.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

It will be observed that in this issue much editorial space has been surrendered to our contributors.

Of Bishop Foster's new volume, *God: Nature and Attributes*, a competent critic in a prominent secular daily says: "In scholarship, sweep of thought, and deep spirituality, this book will compare favorably with any similar work in either Europe or America." The qualities recognized in that commendation are found in all that Bishop Foster publishes. The present treatise, taken together with the previous volumes of his "Studies in Theology," *Prolegomena*, *Theism*, *The Supernatural Book*, and *Creation*, makes a valuable and attractive theological library. Add to these Bishop Foster's earlier books, *Christian Purity*, *Philosophy of Christian Experience*, *Centenary Thoughts*, and *Beyond the Grave*, and our revered bishop's message to the Methodism he has purely loved and loyally served stands in print with symmetrical completeness.

In *Auld Lang Syne*, Professor Max Müller's volume of reminiscences, made up of gossip about celebrities mixed with little essays on religion, science, and literature, there is a story told by Emerson about his brother which runs, in substance, as follows: "My brother and I were both intended for the Unitarian ministry. Returning from his theological studies in Germany, my brother was caught in a storm and his ship given up for lost. He said his prayers, and vowed, if his life were spared, to abandon theology and earn an honest living in some other way. He was saved and kept his vow." We have no difficulty in believing Emerson's story, for it seems to us not improbable that divine Providence might consent to prolong the lives of some Unitarians on condition that they should let theology alone, particularly if they had studied it in some German universities. Theologians

who rob the King of glory of his crown, the Gospel of its atoning Saviour, and the Bible of its august authority, might as well be theosophists or Buddhists.

Dr. C. B. Spencer, editor of *The Rocky Mountain Christian Advocate*, adds his testimony as follows to those given in the Introduction to Dr. Mudge's book as to the resuscitating and life-giving power of Browning's best : "All that the Introduction says of Browning I can respond to out of my own experience with him. I sometimes think he almost saved my soul. Mute he lay on my shelves for years until one time the dark waters and all the billows of them swept over me. Then Browning spoke and reached out his hand.

"I recognize the greatness of 'Saul,' 'Rabbi Ben Ezra,' and others of like quality, but it was 'Andrea del Sarto' that roused me with such words as these :

> We are in God's hand.
> How strange now looks the life he makes us lead;
> So free we seem, so fettered fast we are!
> I feel he laid the fetter; let it lie!
>
> Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
> Or what's a heaven for?
>
> No doubt there's something strikes a balance,
>
> In heaven perhaps new chances, one more chance.

Lines like these woke me and made me swim again.

"I do not know that I ever wrote the word Browning in a letter before ; and it would not have occurred to me to write it now had I not been struck with the comprehensiveness and truth of this Introduction."

We take the liberty of placing this latest testimony here, where the writer of it had no remotest thought of its appearing, in order that more men may be moved to buy and read *The Best of Browning*.

In a time when the despondent and the fearful predict evil of the Church it is pertinent to remark that changes of method and manifestation do not imply diminution of vital force. For one thing the presence of the living Christ animating his people is conspicuous in the increasing passion for ministering to the

whole life of man, by approach from the spiritual side, extended to social, industrial, and civic needs. This token of Christ's presence with his Church is referred to as follows by Dr. A. J. Lyman:

"It is a perplexing and exciting epoch. I do not wonder that the war-worn veterans, standing by the cold cannon of former and obsolete methods, tremble for the safety of the Church. 'We are all going to Jericho,' said one of these dear and valiant fathers in Israel to me the other day. 'The Church is becoming secularized.' Well, so it is, so it ought to be in the true sense of that noble word. The Church should become of the 'Sæculum,' adapted to it, assimilating it, because incarnating Christ within it. So Christ himself came 'eating bread.' The leaven must touch the meal.

"The present moment also is, no doubt, one of menace. We have a 'world all rocking and plunging,' as Carlyle said of times less exciting and perturbed than ours. The Church finds herself in a sociological crisis, in an epoch all ablaze with moving lights, yet trembling under its own energy like some great, crowded racing steamer of the ocean, crashing at night through uneasy seas, while its wet, bright decks mock with their shifting reflections the very steadiness of the stars in heaven—a time bewildering as well as exhilarating.

"But at this very moment *Christ reappears* in the tossing century, as once of old in the boat shaken with the waves, and reappears *in the form of a new and wonderful social enthusiasm.* This is the new cadence which is closing the present century and is to open the next—at once vesper and matin bell. This is the bugle from behind the hills which the time is hearing with a thrill of new hope, as with brilliant incertitude it races on. I love to believe that *thus again in our time reappears the genius of the Incarnation*—a new *renaissance* of the virginal and immortal spirit of Christianity. I love to dream also that the sad duel, now too often seen between the conservative and liberal spirit in our Churches, will perhaps not vex us forever. There will remain a discussion, but not a duel; for *the freshly realized spirit of Christ will teach us how to minister to the humanity of this age* in the love and faith of Christian humanity of all the ages, and the Christian comrade of men to-day will no less be a sharer in the fellowship of the old times and the old faiths."

The ideal and necessary achievement for the Church of today is to blend "a vital adherence to the ancient faith with an equally vital freedom of adjustment to the legitimate demands of the modern age."

REFORMING CITY ADMINISTRATION.

URBAN populations increase rapidly in this country, and they demand more and more services from their governments; but the civic machinery for these services falls far short of perfection. If an individual or a stock company had the same work to do either would discard our clumsy machines and make a large profit by introducing new methods. For a score or two of years there has been an agreement among good citizens that the city ought to have a business management in place of a political one. Some attempts have been made to effect this change; they have failed because the displacement of the political order must be the work of a revolution rather than of an election; and a revolution can come only through a practically unanimous desire to change.

So it has come to be recognized as a principle that municipal change must be wrought through reforms of method effected one by one. The idea of a business system is not an inspiring one; its grasp on the imagination is feeble except when corrupt partisan methods arouse resentment against the existing system; and this negative falls short of signifying that a thorough reform is necessary. There is an inveterate American habit of believing that a change of party control will cast out corruptionists. The rotation of parties in and out and the bit by bit system of amendments have become settled habit. Party leaders promise pure administration, and they often run well for a season. To obtain votes they will often amend the statutes and ordinances, not seriously intending to mend their personal ways. We get a good deal of reform on paper and a little in the general departments.

Enthusiasms are fine public forces, and they promote amendment or at least check downward movements. In civic life, however, they are rarely a steadily burning and consuming fire, and the corrupt or bungling or costly ways of using our taxes provoke no high and strenuous and constant enthusiasms.

To a very large extent taxes are levied, not by those who pay them, but by those who eat them. It is a noble thought that

the poorest man may have an equal voice with the richest in deciding what sums are to be levied for public use. But there is a well-founded suspicion that neither the poor man nor the rich man as such has any voice in the actual decisions. The tax-eater decides upon the bill of fare to which he shall sit down. The ways he follows to reach this end are devious and umbrageous, but they reach his destination. What service the public shall receive and what shall be paid for it by the wealth of the city are in theory democratically determined; in actual practice they are fixed by an interested oligarchy which is neither nobly born nor well-mannered.

All theorists agree in condemning the ward system first, and afterward the party system. If some heroic achievement is to be attempted, why not try a reform which smites both evils hip and thigh? Cumulative voting has not been treated with proper consideration by our reformers. If New York had a council of one hundred men elected at large, on a system under which every voter could indicate first, second, and third choices and have his first choice in case his vote were necessary to that man and his second or third in like case, there is a high probability that a vastly improved administration would be secured. The system deserves a trial, and we hope that some city will make the experiment. It was proposed for Boston a few years ago; it did not pass the ordeal of the legislature, probably because the reformers had not agreed to promote this adventure into radical reformation.

TESTIMONY TO BROWNING'S POWER.*

Toward the settlement of some questions criticism proceeds by setting up a witness stand and taking affidavits. Power is registered by effects; effects experienced can be testified to. Whatever the elements or secret of Browning's power, the witnesses to its effects are such and so many that its reality is undeniable. Testimony from experience is the most positive proof possible. Effects measure the cause. The force of a projectile is recorded by the mark left where it struck. No visitor to the United States firing grounds at Sandy Hook, looking at the deep dent in the testing plate, denies commensurate momentum and

* This is a part of the Introduction written by the editor of the *Methodist Review* to Dr. James Mudge's book, *The Best of Browning*, just published by Eaton & Mains, and reviewed in the Book Notices of this number of the *Review*.

temper to the cannon ball that made it. Quite as presentable and convincing is the evidence of Browning's power furnished by many sorts and conditions of men who have felt its impact upon mind and soul. . . .

The witness nearest at hand testifies thus: "The first valuable definite discovery I made in reading Browning was that he suited with my mind and feeling when, in their fluctuation up and down, they were at their best; then it was that I found most exquisite delight in him; then his obscurities became intelligible; then his strength and range and mastery were most manifest to me; then I could see how great and lifted up his best is and rejoice in it with exceeding joy. Moreover, I found that contact with him always rouses me, raises me toward my highest possibility and helps to sustain me there." This witness might have added that to be able to meet Browning on his habitual level we need to come to him at our best; a keen fresh morning mind, and not afternoon ineptitude, is requisite for Browning study.

Dr. Augustus Jessopp testifies that Browning's "Paracelsus" had a wholly incalculable influence on his mind, leaving an impression so deep and lasting that he would find it impossible to exaggerate its effect on him.

A brilliant and exceptionally cultivated woman, the wife of a Western university president, told the writer that while "Saul" is her favorite, as well as the first she knew of Browning, yet "Luria," also, the first time she read it, put her brain into a state of incandescence and kept her quivering in the centers of emotion for a week with an electric stir of feeling which would not subside.

Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie, including and expounding Browning's "Saul" under the head of "Aids to the Devout Life," records this testimony: "A gifted and ardent woman once said that when everything else failed she reread 'Saul,' and then she heard once more the clear tone of faith calling through the darkness as the song of the shepherd boy called to King Saul in the blackness of his despair."

An educated and refined Roman Catholic woman narrated to the writer how in the darkest and bitterest days of her life, when close after her husband's death came the sudden loss of her only daughter in a tragic and distressing manner, nothing comforted her. In vain her anguished heart and stunned mind gropingly sought help where she had been accustomed to find it. Her

Bible and her prayer book seemed to have nothing for her. All words and voices sounded far off, inadequate, irrelevant, meaningless. In that stony deaf-and-dumbness, numbness, almost deadness, she remained, and nothing reached her, until, in such a way and hour as she looked not for, help came to her through Robert Browning. Wearily, listlessly moving about one day, she picked up a book, opened by chance at "Saul," read it slowly through, pausing often to think and take its meaning in, and as she read her faith revived from its swoon; there came a sense of Some One carrying her; the spiritual universe grew real, she herself and her lost loved ones a living and immortal part of it; she saw it, and from the clear sure vision peace fell upon her and a sweet persuasion that because "God's in his heaven," "all's right with the world."

An eminent Congregational minister in an arduous parish, in life's busy prime, being asked if he took any notice of current poetry, answered: "No; I have not time. I read no poet any more except Browning. I read him for his strong condensation, his dramatic quality, and his immensely tonic vital force."

A justice of the United States Supreme Court, not yet many years dead, was accustomed through life to take with him in his trunk when he went away for the summer two books—the Bible and Shakespeare. In the ripe maturity of later life he discovered Browning and added him to his two previous indispensables, so that, the last summer of his life, when, preparing to depart with his family for the hot season, he went into a bookstore to buy a volume of Browning, he replied to the inquiry of his daughter, "You know I never go away without Browning." What it was he valued most in Browning we do not know, but, for one thing, it is easily conceivable that a great lawyer might desire to carry with him that most subtly, elaborately, and dramatically wrought-out law case, "The Ring and the Book," in which a legal mind may find a special fascination. Although it may be noted that the interest and profit derivable from study of that tragic case are by no means limited to lawyers, because what Arlo Bates says is true for all who will test it: "To have gone to the heart of 'The Ring and the Book'—that most colossal *tour de force* in all literature—to have heard the tender confidences of dying Pompilia, the anguished confession of Caponsacchi, the noble soliloquy of the pope, is to have lived through a spiritual and emotional experience of worth incalculable."

THE ARENA.

THE MISSIONARY EPISCOPACY.

In the *Review* for November, 1897, Dr. Potts sets forth his views of the missionary episcopacy in such a way as to reflect not only upon the judgment, but also upon the manhood, of the Indian missionaries. He says: "The missionaries who ought to know the peculiar needs of their own special fields better than anyone else stand in awe of a higher local power [the missionary bishop] that assumes to provide both policy and direction." When we read this in connection with the resolution of the Central Conference of 1896, namely, "We believe the plan which provided our work in India and Malaysia with a resident bishop of long and practical experience in missionary work in the land was a providential one, and with utmost emphasis we express our conviction that a change in policy that would involve a sacrifice of this kind of supervision and leadership now enjoyed would be in a high degree detrimental to the best interests of our work," we must conclude that either Dr. Potts does not know what he is talking about or that the "awe" the Indian missionaries are under has led them to stultify themselves in the quoted resolution and similar ones in the Annual Conferences.

That the bishop should always have the same views of any particular field as the missionary in charge none but a very unwise man would expect; and that the judgment of the missionaries has called for changes of men or policy in regard to local or general affairs which have not been made is contradicted by the unanimity with which the missionary body in India stands for the missionary episcopacy. What does Dr. Potts want? Is it that the general superintendent shall be the mouthpiece of the missionaries who know "the peculiar needs of their own special fields better than anyone else," or is he, in comparative ignorance of those needs, to decide the fate of the missionary and his work and do it better than the missionary bishop?

Dr. Potts also tries to cast odium upon the office of the missionary bishop by assigning its origin to "slavery times." It matters not how the office has been evolved. The question is, Does it do the work required better than the general superintendency does? The genius of Methodism is its firm adherence to evangelical truth and its elasticity of method. Men and women drawn from all sections of our Church in America, and familiar with the Church life and administration there under the general superintendents, have affirmed repeatedly that for India a missionary bishop is "providential." Dr. Potts says, "It is a pernicious system. . . . It has too much power, and has no balance wheel." Now, "pernicious" and "no balance wheel" mean destruction, to the extent of "the establishment in the Church of a districted episcopacy, or

the disintegration of our Indian work, or both." If this is not the destruction feared I cannot make out what it is. In the first place, Dr. Potts must not saddle us with believing in "a districted episcopacy." The request was presented at the last General Conference that a second missionary bishop for India be elected. This was the desire of the Indian and Malaysian representatives, with the assent of Bishop Thoburn. There was no idea and no desire that if a second bishop were elected his jurisdiction in India and Malaysia should be limited. The time is indeed coming in the providence of God when the Methodists in India will be numbered, not by thousands, but by millions, and when not one but a dozen bishops will be required to superintend the work of the Church. Then the rotation of their administration will proceed as smoothly and as acceptably as in the home land. The missionaries only ask that the superintending bishop have the knowledge and experience of the work which only continued service on the field can give.

Dr. Potts does not explain how "the disintegration of our Indian work" is to come about. If such a catastrophe is impending we who are giving our lives, and not merely ink, to it are most painfully concerned. If he can enlighten us in this matter we shall be profoundly grateful. In our experience of the difficulties of the field on account of climate, language, customs, sickness—an experience lasting in some cases almost as long as the mission has had an existence—and with a knowledge of the administration of the general superintendents, we have learned to regard the missionary episcopacy as "providential." Dr. Potts says it is "pernicious" to our work, and yet he says, "We have no alarming facts to cite, no aggravating official acts to bring into condemnation, no disloyal or unholy schemes to expose." He has only "certain unhappy tendencies" to complain of. The simplicity, harmony, and solidity of "administration" which he seeks is to our minds to be obtained at the price of the simplicity, harmony, and solidity of the work which we are doing. We have so many discouragements on the field that we do not understand how our friends at home would take that leadership from us which has led us to "perhaps unparalleled success in the history of the missions of our Church." We believe that the Church will continue to stand by its decision that the missionary bishop is providential.

Nothing in this article is to be taken as indicating a lack of reverence or honor toward the general superintendents. Those fathers of the Church command our utmost love, and were we at home none would submit more humbly to their judgment in the full administration of their duties. Here, likewise, in spiritual matters we shall be delighted to sit at their feet, but we cannot but regard with dismay a judgment on temporal matters necessarily hedged about with inexperience.

To show that India and Malaysia are a unit for the missionary episcopacy it is only necessary to quote the resolutions on this subject passed by the Central Conference that has just adjourned, and to say that after these years of experience and discussion the convictions of the members

of that Conference are such that they passed those resolutions with but one dissenting voice:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EPISCOPACY.

"Section 1. We heartily approve the action of the General Conference by which provision was made for the official visit of one of the general superintendents in each quadrennium to the southern Asia mission fields of our Church. By such provision we believe the close ties happily existing between us and the beloved home Church will be drawn still more closely, and our representations of the condition and needs of our great work be more strongly emphasized. We are free to say that should future visits of our general superintendents be characterized by the same spirit which has marked the visit of Bishop Foss the prosperity of our work can only be furthered by these quadrennial visits and by the conjoint administration of our Conferences as provided for by the General Conference.

"Sec. 2. We reaffirm our entire satisfaction with the missionary episcopacy provided by the General Conference, and believe that its operation in southern Asia has abundantly confirmed the wisdom of the Church in making this provision for the close and efficient supervision of our rapidly expanding work and for the careful administration of the details connected with a Church composed of such diverse elements and complicated with so many perplexing problems. Our deep conviction is that the Church was divinely guided in making this provision for our peculiar needs, and we express the hope that no action will be taken which may in any way impair the efficiency or weaken the possibilities of the missionary episcopacy. In reindorsing the policy we again point out its peculiar advantages so far as southern Asia is considered. It gives us: (1) A leader of long missionary service. (2) A leader resident on the field. (3) Continuity of administration. None can dispute the fact that the system which now operates in our wide and expanding field has made many advances possible that would not otherwise have ever been contemplated, and, besides administering nearly all the field in detail, has left its impress on every institution connected with our Church. Best of all, it has made feasible frequent personal counsel and advice for every responsible worker from one intimately acquainted with the genesis and growth of the enterprises each represents.

"Sec. 3. More gratefully than ever do we recognize the kind hand of Providence in giving us Bishop Thoburn as our leader in this great work. We rejoice that the manifest success which attended his earlier episcopal administration of the work in this field continues, and that he is still among us to do efficient service. To the courageous and contagious faith of our beloved leader we owe many important enterprises which would have no existence apart from his cooperation. In this, as in other respects, he continues to be an increasingly important factor in the development and solidification of Methodism in southern Asia.

With a unity of spirit throughout all our borders, for which we cannot sufficiently thank God, our missionary force and Indian Church follow Bishop Thoburn's inspiring leadership and find our high confidence in him well placed.

"Sec. 4. We cannot be indifferent to the fact that with the very rapid development of our work greatly multiplied burdens have come upon our resident bishop. There is still the need, more keenly felt than ever, of close episcopal supervision of the infant Church which is increasing so rapidly. The details incidental to new work among diverse races and distant communities demand the constant advice and counsel of the responsible Church authority. The numerous District Conferences, composed in some instances of hundreds of workers, require more frequent episcopal visits. Our educational and other institutions demand wisest guidance in this formative period; and all interests require that additional missionary episcopal supervision be provided. The need of this is now more imperative than when we asked for an additional missionary bishop at the last session of the Central Conference.

"Sec. 5. In view of the fact that the increase of the missionary episcopacy involves additional burdens on the Missionary Society, and that there is no real necessity why the salaries of missionary bishops should be so disproportionate to the maximum salary of a foreign missionary, we express our conviction that the salaries of all missionary bishops to be elected in future should be fixed at a substantially lower amount than is now appropriated." BENJ. J. CHEW.

Calcutta, India.

"NOVELS AND SERMONS."

IN the September-October *Review* of 1897 there appeared in the "Arena" an article under the above caption, in which the author draws a striking parallel between these two forms of rhetoric. The propriety of bringing together for comparison works so antipodal in their nature and aim may be questioned. Still, in a universe where, as Dr. Holmes assures us, "nothing is clearer than that all things are in all things," resemblances are not difficult to find anywhere. But analogy is not an entirely safe method of reasoning; and at the last the author is betrayed into the startling assertion that no one "can be a moving and powerful preacher who has not in him in many respects the elements of the successful writer of fiction." What these elements are he tells us in the parallel. It is easy to see that their possession constitutes what is called the artistic temperament. That this is the author's meaning is an inference from his view of the sermon as a work of art—in its highest type, "of creative art"—together with a like type of the novel. Then the proposition more briefly stated is, No one can be a powerful preacher who has not the artistic temperament. Let us look at the parallel.

First, the expression "creative art," applied to the sermon, is infelicitous. The preacher may be called a homiletic artist, if you please.

But the preacher does not evolve truth primarily for the sake of self-expression; he is not thus a creator, in the sense of the poet or painter with brush or pen. In one word, the evangelical preacher is to portray the truth as it is in Jesus; indeed, he is the medium through whom the truth of God is to be conveyed to the souls of men. Water is often colored by the soil over which it flows, and takes a peculiar flavor from the rock from which it springs. So the truth of God is colored by the taste and temperament of the preacher. This may or may not be the artistic temperament; for God uses all temperaments. Are we not constantly called upon to account for the moving power and success of preachers in high and low places who are lacking in "the elements of the successful writer of fiction," who have little invention, are unimaginative, undramatic, and by no means creative?

And the problem still remains unsolved on the side of art. Art has its meaning and message, speaking with nature, "its inseparable ally," says Ruskin, "a varied language." The preacher is in conscious experience and aim the messenger of the Eternal. He is an *εὐαγγελιστής*, a bringer of good tidings. To him God has given a message—one containing many, if you will—to a languishing world. Back of it is a tragedy and a triumph, that of the cross. Careful for the nice balancing of the parallel, our author says: "The scientist and historian may be said to speak of particular facts; the preacher and novelist, of general human facts." Let the preacher move a little away from the novelist and up nearer the cross, for on that cross is the divine-human fact of history, of whom even Renan, in an unwonted rapture, exclaimed, "Whatever may be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed; his worship will grow young without ceasing; his legend will call forth tears without end." Here is the great center of attraction, the world's unfading charm. But the writer says, "The preacher and the novelist must charm while they instruct, or their work is futile." John Wesley did not charm much when they dragged him by the hair of his head through the streets; but he could say with Paul, "This one thing I do," and he did it well. We cannot find where it is any part of the preacher's business to charm. One says, "If I be lifted up from the earth [I] will draw all men unto me." The preacher is to lift up Christ, the One "altogether lovely."

Finally, while the study of the "masters of fiction" is a delightful one, and helps in the cultivation of one's own invention and imagination, we cannot think that a preacher should peruse the great novelists to learn the need "of infusing a vital human interest throughout his sermons;" but rather, as the conscientious novelist goes to nature for his subjects, and studies them there, seeking to enter into their life with all their environments, so the preacher should study those over whom God has made him overseer. By so doing he may not catch "the secret of the successful novelist's art," but he will catch the secret of that art which is peculiarly his own—the art of catching men, that is, of saving them. Thus we have one element in preaching that widely differentiates

it as an art from every other form of art—the element of persuasion. The preacher must not merely "charm," or his work may indeed be "futile;" but he must also, by "the terror of the Lord," "persuade men."

We cannot more fittingly close this paper than by a quotation from that ardent lover of the good, the true, and the beautiful, John Ruskin. He is speaking of pulpit ornamentation: "If once we begin to regard the preacher, whatever his faults, as a man sent with a message to us, which is a matter of life or death, whether we hear or refuse; . . . we shall look with changed eyes upon that frippery of gay furniture about the place from which the message of judgment must be delivered, which either breathes upon the dry bones that they may live, or, if ineffectual, remains recorded in condemnation, perhaps against the utterer and listener alike, but assuredly against one of them. We shall not so easily bear with the silk and gold upon the seat of judgment, nor with ornament of oratory in the mouth of the messenger; we shall wish that his words may be simple, even when they are sweetest, and the place from which he speaks like a marble rock in the desert, about which the people have gathered in their thirst."

JETHRO B. COLEMAN.

Quakertown, Pa.

IS CALVINISM DEAD?

A BOSTON minister affirms that "the chief doctrines taught by the great Genevan reformer are no longer held by any body of believers except in a formal way." Replying in the New York *Observer*, the Rev. Dr. Joseph D. Burrell, of Brooklyn, contends that "in all essential principles Calvinism is as much a living force now as at any time in the past." He admits that "ministers no longer preach the doctrine of reprobation and infant damnation;" but he claims that "the sovereign grace of God is the presumption of every sermon." However, instead of attempting to disprove the affirmation of the Boston minister he calls to his aid President Roswell D. Hitchcock, who says, "As long as there are thinkers men will be Calvinists." Yet it would seem that on the principle of charity the great educator would admit that there were just a few Arminians who possess the ability to think.

Dr. Burrell summons to his aid, also, such great thinkers as Huxley, Spencer, and John Fiske, whose philosophies of the world and of life in terms of science tend to confirm the Calvinistic conceptions of human destiny. Skeptical schools of philosophy, ancient as well as modern, have taught the doctrine of necessity in human conduct.

Two questions will always occasion controversy and unlike conclusions: (1) Is the destiny of moral beings determined before their birth, without reference to their conduct? (2) Are human actions the result of laws as fixed as those which govern the movement of the spheres?

The poetic conception is that while the laws of matter are fixed, "bound fast in fate," human conduct is the result of a personal volition. If John Calvin had enjoyed good health perhaps he would have possessed

the poetic conception. Under the old dispensation Jehovah inquired, "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord God: and not that he should return from his ways, and live?" Would such a Being ask such a question if the agent was under the force of necessity? And in the Gospel age we are assured that God is "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." Thus we see the attitude of the Supreme will is in the interest of human redemption.

This zealous Calvinist has certainly failed to write down the statement made by the Boston minister, and without producing a single fact to confirm what he claimed he closes by stating that "what is needed is a readjustment of the truths stated in the past, and an interpretation in the thought of to-day." He assures us, "That is a giant task, which may well challenge and inspire some of our younger theologians." Who will come to the rescue?

It is an evident fact that if there are Calvinists now living they do not preach Calvinism. Mr. Spurgeon manifested the courage of his convictions, but when he closed his famous discourses he ceased to be a Calvinist and became an Arminian. Within a year the writer heard twelve representative Presbyterian ministers of New York and Brooklyn preach in connection with the founding of a new church, and not one of them made a statement that would indicate they believed in the peculiar ideas of the Genevan reformer.

The incarnate Son of God did not represent the Supreme Being as possessed of an absolute will, but manifested him as a Father, equally interested in each of his offspring.

C. W. Lyon.

Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, N. Y.

TOTAL DEPRAVITY.

In the "Arena" of March-April *Review* T. M. Griffith, in discoursing on the atonement, said, "As to man's total depravity, it is nonexistent, save in the imagination of the most cast-iron Calvinist, . . . and is nowhere taught in the Scriptures." It is taught, at least by implication, on almost every page of the Scriptures. Wesley, Clarke, Watson, and Fletcher, who at least formulated Methodist theology, so understood, and declared the Bible to teach total depravity. Fletcher's *Appeal to a Matter of Fact and Common Sense* is an unanswerable argument for "total depravity," and he was not a cast-iron Calvinist either.

There is no doctrine in the Bible that was preached with more earnestness by our Lord and his apostles than conversion or regeneration. Man is not to reform himself, but is to be possessed consciously of a spiritual work in his soul that the divine Being alone can do. Some intelligible cause must exist in man's nature to require such a radical work. There is a necessity for being "born again." That necessity is in total depravity, and in nothing else.

Jason Young.

Van Wert, O.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

CONSTANCY *VERSUS* SPASMODIC EFFORTS IN PASTORAL LABOR.

THE Protestant Churches of our country are greatly agitated over the small increase in the membership of the Churches during the last ecclesiastical year. The philosophical historian of the future and the careful student of the present must take account of the facts and inquire the cause. Much speculation has been indulged in on this subject, and theories more or less satisfactory have been promulgated. It must be assumed that there is no lack of interest in human salvation on the part of our heavenly Father. The Gospel of to-day is the same Gospel under which our fathers wrought so mightily in the conversion of sinners. The sword of the Spirit is just as "quick and powerful, . . . piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow," as when the sacred writer penned those searching words. Church appliances are also just as numerous. Indeed, more sermons have been preached, more organizations have been at work, and more exhortations to duty have taken place during the past year than has been the case in any other period in the history of the Church. Nor is it to be questioned that ministers have as profound an interest in the salvation of men as they have ever had in the many centuries of Christian activity, and that the members of the Church are as keenly alive to the great work committed to them—the carrying of the Gospel to all the lands of earth. The zeal of the Church is not as great as it ought to be, but it is fully as great as in the years gone by, when great triumphs have been achieved in the conversion of men and women.

We venture to suggest a point which has been omitted thus far, so far as we have observed, in the discussion of this subject, namely, the too great dependence upon special activities and too little reliance upon silent, constant influence. This is the age of what is technically known as the "hustler," and it is not uncommon to hear presiding elders say that for the places which are open they need "hustlers." If the writer of this has not misapprehended the case it is the "hustler" that has done the damage. Hustling is, in the nature of the case, spasmodic. It consists in keeping everybody aroused and in endeavoring to see to it that this year surpasses the last, rather for the sake of external success than with a view to real progress. This has gone on to such an extent that unless a pastor is rushing something all the time it is not uncommon for many to suppose him indifferent, or at least unsuccessful. Unless crowds fill the church at every service it is supposed that nothing is being done. Yet a careful examination of the situation will reveal that the men who have worked steadily and quietly have accomplished more in the conversion of souls, putting the results of the year together, than

those who have depended on spasmodic effort. In these days when men think, when so many questions are being asked, when the very centers of religious faith are being questioned, men and women are not to be won to Christ by spasmodic effort, but by the steady influence of days and weeks and months and years. Every human soul is a prize to be won for Christ, and it is worth patient thought and anxious labor on the part of the minister and all those associated with him. If the unconverted people in a congregation were taken on the hearts of a minister and his workers, and gradually, as they were able to bear it, he should open up to them the truths of God, hear their objections, answer their inquiries, dispel their doubts, show them a brother's heart as well as a consecrated brain, much more would be accomplished for the Master than is being accomplished under the present method.

In order to do this the minister's time must be wisely distributed. He must go to his work every day as the business man goes to his work in the morning and comes home at night. There is a soul that can be seen to-day which cannot be seen to-morrow. He must watch over that soul. He must not be discouraged if even years find his efforts unrewarded and the person still indifferent to the truth as it is in Jesus. Though from the human standpoint this would seem a sufficient reason for disheartenment, he must not despair. The seed he has sown will in time bear fruit, if it is the true seed of the Gospel, and if it is watered, as it will be, by the dews of heavenly grace.

Far be it from us to diminish in the slightest way the intensity of Christian life or effort, or to underestimate the great revivals which have often been brought about by united prayers and united efforts at a given time and place. There must be a constant repetition in the Church of the Pentecostal times. A great revivalist, thoroughly consecrated to God, must not be lightly esteemed, but dependence on these things as the sole means of rescuing men and women from sin is a very grave error. It is not uncommon for churches, when they have made special efforts for a few weeks, to relapse into indifference for the whole year. For a time revival sermons will be preached, intense appeals will be made, and then the time comes when the service takes on a form destitute of at least apparent interest in the salvation of men. Instruction and exhortation must go hand in hand, and in every sermon people should hear something that will help them to a better life, and sinners something to incite them to turn to God for salvation. The "hustler" should not be dismissed, but assigned to a subordinate place. He has his function, and it is a useful one, but his function is not the chief one. The chief work of the Church is to be done by those who constantly devote themselves to the salvation of men. If such a concerted effort as we are now speaking of were to be made during the next year, if the souls out of Christ were to be sought none the less eagerly but more persistently, it is possible for us to believe that God's Holy Spirit would attend these efforts and that another year would witness the ingathering of a million souls for

Christ. Some one has sounded the note of "a million souls for Christ in a year." This will not be done by spasmodic effort. It will not be done by "rushing" processes. These should not be left out; but it will be done if, in dependence on God's grace and the power of the Holy Spirit, the Church goes forward in this work and, after the manner of Paul, each minister of the Gospel shall cease not to warn everyone night and day with "tears."

WHAT ARE POPULAR SERMONS?

This is a question of great importance, and the answer will largely depend upon the light in which it is viewed. If we look at it from the standpoint of the public press it appears that, if a minister would be popular, he must speak on such subjects as have an interest apart from a purely religious one. His sermons must be æsthetic or ethical, must contribute to scientific-religious thought, or discuss matters of practical interest from the standpoint of the world. During the hotly contested election for the mayoralty of New York, in November last, the papers were prodigal in the use of space for sermons, provided they touched on public problems of the time. The more partisan and bitter the tone of the discourses the more sure they were to get abundant space in the papers, while sermons on matters of purely religious interest received slight attention. The anniversary of one of the oldest churches in New York occurred at that time, and a daily paper, giving an account of the anniversary, as an excuse for not printing the substance of the sermons, remarked, "The sermons were on purely religious topics." The newspapers print what is demanded by the people, and it was evidently the view of that paper that the appetite of a large portion of its readers is not for religious sermons, but for such as have to do with secular or semisecular topics.

We believe, however, that such papers misunderstand the wishes of very many of their readers, and that if a careful inquiry were made of the people of both city and country it would be found that the majority of the people prefer to read sermons which convey in fitting words and with choice and tender imagery and happy illustration the great heart truths of the Gospel. The output of the religious press at this time is simply marvelous, and the great part of it is of a genuinely religious character. There are, of course, equally great productions of the press on æsthetic, political, and scientific subjects; but the point which we insist on is this, that sermons will be popular, other things being equal, in the proportion in which they grasp the great central truths of the Christian religion. The circulation of the evangelistic utterances of our great preachers has been largely in excess of that of the class of sermons known as semisecular or sensational. As specimens we would say the sermons of the late Canon Liddon have had a wide circulation, especially in England, and perhaps in this country. During his active ministry his great utterances were published in book form, as well as in the

public press. The sermons of Frederick W. Robertson were more popular than those of any other preacher of his time. This was in a measure due to the genius of the preacher, whose personality, as well as his style, was so fascinating. The pecuniary profits of his sermons produced a fortune for his family. Spurgeon's sermons in their time were scattered broadcast in England and America, and were read with great avidity by thousands of purchasers. Many other similar instances of successful publications might be mentioned, to show that so far as sermons are concerned this class of discourses has thus far maintained its preeminence in the popular regard.

The popularity of sermons which are devoted to religious teaching will depend largely on the education the people receive through their ministers. In the last issue of the "Itinerants' Club" mention was made of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York. It is one of the most progressive and most enlightened in the city. Dr. John Hall, its pastor, has so educated that congregation, through the years of his pastorate, that his expository and evangelical discourses on the precious blood of Christ, the sinfulness of sin, the witness of the Holy Spirit, and all other great Gospel teachings are the most popular which could be presented to his people. This educational factor also enters into the mode of preaching, whether extempore or delivered from manuscript. The normal form of Methodist preaching is without manuscript, or even notes, but there are congregations who have been so trained by listening to written sermons that they prefer such discourses. This education of people to the preacher's style is only possible in pastorates of some length, and is scarcely applicable to our itinerant system, though it has force even with ourselves.

It is very important for us to remember this because of its bearing on the training of our ministry. The young minister should be taught that the spiritual truths of the word of God, as well as its ethical teachings, when faithfully and fully preached are the most popular with all those who are interested in their personal salvation, and will be most successful in awakening their attention to it. It is the duty of the Christian minister to present these truths to the consciousness of the Church and of the world. One of the dangers which confronts the ministry is that of conforming their services to people who are not interested in the Gospel. The Gospel, truly and wisely preached, and accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit, is, however, one of the most efficient agencies with which to draw congregations, although it may not be most acceptable to the readers of popular worldly journals. When as a ministry we are as careful and as studious and as effective in presenting the great themes of the Gospel as are those preachers who discuss political or semisecular topics in the pulpit, we shall find that Gospel sermons will every time prove to be the popular sermons. We conclude that, after all, the newspaper already mentioned did not accurately represent the true state of the case.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE MOSAIC OF MEDEBA.

Both the Dominicans and Franciscans of the Holy Land have of late years manifested considerable interest in archæological researches and questions pertaining to the geography of Bible lands. Many of these monks are men of fine training and thorough learning, and are ever on the alert for that which will aid the Bible student in obtaining a clearer idea of the word. The Franciscan fathers especially are engaged in caring for all the ancient Christian shrines and sacred places in various portions of Palestine and the adjacent territory. These monks have lately published a pamphlet in the Greek language, which has greatly interested the biblical critics. It is entitled *The Mosaic and Geographical Chart of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Found at Madeba.*

Medeba, spelled in ten different ways, is in the land of Moab, almost in a direct line east of Bethlehem, about as far east of the Dead Sea as Bethlehem is west of the same. It is on the route between Heshbon and Dibon, about five miles south of the former and fifteen north of the latter. Thus it is seen that the map was found not very far from the place where the famous Moabite Stone was discovered in 1870 A. D. The name "Medeba" is not new. It occurs twice in the Pentateuch, first in that ancient ode found in Num. xxi, 27-30, where we read, "We have laid them waste even unto Nophah, which reached unto Medeba." It also appears on the Moabite Stone, which tells us that Omri took all the plain of Medeba, which his successors held for many years. It was also famous during the wars under the Maccabees. During the early centuries of our era it had become the seat of a bishopric. It is now a heap of ruins; nevertheless, the large blocks of marble and cut stone among the *débris* still bear testimony to the elegance of some of the structures which formerly crowned the heights of this ancient town.

The story of the discovery of the mosaic is full of interest; and as with many an archæological treasure, so with this, it was brought to light where and when least expected. If reports are true the map, though only made known to the learned world some fifteen months ago, was known to a few ecclesiastics as many years before. The story as now told is that about 1882 a monk of Medeba wrote a letter to his patriarch at Jerusalem apprising that dignitary of the existence of the map. The good patriarch evidently regarded the matter as of little or no importance, for instead of sending instructions to the inquisitive monk he merely filed away his letter among his other correspondence, where it quietly rested till after the worthy prelate's death. His successor, however, found the letter and at once took measures to have the ancient relic carefully examined. With that object in view Father Kleophas M.

Koikylides, librarian of the Society of the Holy Sepulcher, an enthusiastic archæologist, was commissioned by Gerosinos, the new patriarch, to journey to Medeba and gather whatever information he could regarding the wonderful map. It seems that a new church was in process of erection at Medeba, on the very site of an ancient ruined basilica. Fortunately the monk was commissioned to examine the new building as well, and thus it seems that he had full authority in all things. Father Kleophas on arriving at the new church at once noticed what seemed to have escaped the attention of the ignorant workmen. He says: "I saw on the right of the floor a mosaic which, however, was being covered with cement. I at once ordered the workmen to remove the coating, and to my great surprise discovered that the mosaic represented on a large scale a map of the three Bible lands, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt." He further tells us that this chart must have been at one time much larger, and included at least a large portion of Asia Minor. This is clear from the fact that in one corner of the floor, in the same kind of work and letters, were found the names "Smyrna" and "Ephesus." The map as it is now measures about eighteen square meters, but originally it must have been two hundred and eighty square meters. We are further told that "an old ecclesiastic at Medeba, Suleiman Sunna, still remembers to have seen the larger chart."

This large mosaic is dotted with the names of places, scores of them well known, while many others are less familiar and still others are new. All the prominent sites from the distant north clear to Egypt are marked where we might expect to find them. To begin on the south, we might mention Arad, Beersheba, Gerar, Rephidim; then farther north we have Gera, Gerizim, Gilgal, Sychar, and Jacob's Well; to the east of the Dead Sea are Baros, Zared, and Zoar. Then again we have a large number of sacred places, such as the shrines of Elisha, Jonah, St. Victor, and others. Considerable space is given to some of the more important towns. Jerusalem is shown as a compact, well-built, walled city, with its several gates, numerous towers, well-planned streets, and imposing buildings. On the west side of the city is evidently the Jaffa gate, and close to it the lofty tower of David. On the north side is another gate, built in between two good-sized towers. This seems to be the principal entrance, for it opens into the main street, a long avenue running north and south almost the entire length of the city. About halfway down this street, on the west side, is an imposing structure, probably a church. This is the finest edifice within the walls of Jerusalem; hence some conjecture that it represents the martyrium of Constantine.

Judging from the work and the style of the letters on the mosaic, it must have been made about 400 A. D. Let us, however, append the following note from the pamphlet: "An especial reason for dating at this period is found in the names of the sacred shrines, which are here mentioned and which belong to the century named [between 350 and 450 A. D.]. In addition to this geographical division the chart contains

the old division among the twelve tribes, as also the younger Roman division into a first, second, and third Palestine."

This mosaic when more critically studied cannot but help fixing the location of some sites now disputed or unknown. Even now some eminent geographers and archæologists claim that more than one place mentioned in the Bible and by Josephus, which hitherto had defied identification, have been reasonably located by means of this new map. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that a map constructed on so large a scale, having the names of so many towns, rivers, lakes, valleys, hills, and early Christian shrines, must add to our store of knowledge and facilitate the study of both profane and sacred history.

The find possesses another great value. It will serve to encourage those patiently toiling with pick and spade in hand in search of archæological treasures in Bible lands. Though Palestine and the countries immediately adjoining have not yet yielded abundantly of their long-looked-for hidden relics, yet it is comforting to know that one by one these are being gathered in. For the last few years have given us several tablets written in Jerusalem, another tablet found in Lachish, the Siloam inscription, as well as some seals of minor value, to say nothing of the Mesha Stone and this fine mosaic from Moab.

ALPHABETIC WRITING.

A CORRESPONDENT in the "Arena" for November last criticises the statement made in the July–August *Review*, "The oldest undisputed specimen of alphabetic writing so far discovered is that in Phœnician characters on a portion of a bronze cup found in the island of Cyprus, . . . some ten centuries before Christ." He cites what he has mistaken for a passage from the pen of Mariette Bey, but what really is from a later source and published in the appendix to Mariette's work. The passage calls attention to some linguistic marks at Illahun, supposed to be the rudiments of an alphabet in existence at least 2,000 B. C. The chief difficulty with the statement is that these rudiments have never, so far as we know, been deciphered. Hence no one can say what they are.

Our article was very careful to make a distinction between the origin of writing and the origin of the alphabet. We said, "The origin of writing, or the use of characters and signs of various kinds to record events and to convey ideas to others, must not be confounded with alphabetic writing. Cumbersome and intricate systems, more or less perfect, have been known to several countries of the ancient world from the infancy of the human race." We further emphasized the fact that the alphabet was not invented in one day or one age, but gradually evolved, and plainly stated that most students of epigraphy think the origin of alphabetic writing must be sought in the hieratic system of Egypt. If Dr. Anthony knows of any alphabetic writing earlier than the Baal-Lebanon inscription or the Moabite stone the *Review* will be glad to publish it.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

SOME PHASES OF A "FORWARD MOVEMENT."

In November, 1896, under the caption "Debts of Missionary Societies," attention was called to the fact that ten years ago the Church of England Missionary Society, in the face of a debt of a hundred thousand dollars, adopted a new policy of administration, by which it determined to send forward to the field all suitable applicants for service, with the result that it not only paid off its debt, but largely increased the number of men on the field. In a lengthy paragraph was given a summary of the subsequent results of the application of this policy. In the leading article of the January *Review* for 1898 Bishop Thoburn treats of the same subject. At the Student Volunteer Convention in Cleveland, in February, Mr. Douglas Thornton, the representative delegate from the Student Volunteer Movement in Great Britain, made a similar presentation of the subject, with statistics only slightly varying from those presented by Bishop Thoburn. The basis of the argument for the adoption of this policy was that it was the duty of the Church, not only to accept the obligation to enter upon open fields, but to see whether the providence of God, which had caused a large number of candidates for service to present themselves, did not herein challenge the faith of the Church. At least it was assumed it was the Church's duty in some way to get the candidates into the open doors, and, if the money was not in hand or in prospect, to look to the same providence that had opened the doors and furnished the men to supplement these with the means necessary to sustain the men and make their operations effective. That policy has so far been blessed by the same divine providence that within the intervening ten years since it was adopted the Church Missionary Society has not held back a single properly qualified applicant for service in the foreign fields. At the first the money came in disproportionately to the advantage of the Society. The work was so greatly expanded, however, by the increased force that the income failed slightly of being equal to the increased operations. The Society, however, went steadily forward, and while at the close of last year it had a slight debt, yet the workers and the work, as well as the income, have all been so greatly augmented that the administrators of the Society have no question but that the new policy has received the fullest indorsement in the diplomacy of Providence.

Concomitant with this new departure special effort was made to localize the expenditure of the individual missionaries, by soliciting persons and individual churches or local societies to become responsible for at least the salary of the missionary. Whereas, ten years ago, they did not have a solitary agent thus supported, at present they have no less than

two hundred and fifty missionaries whose salaries are pledged by specific associations or personal patrons.

Another feature of what we may call the forward movement has been the acceptance for service of both men and women who agree to work under the several societies in the exact way and with the same obligations of the regularly appointed missionaries, without salaries, supporting themselves. Some of these persons have more or less wealth, and are thus financially able to render unpaid service. Some of them have means of making their living at the same time they are doing missionary work. The Church Missionary Society of which we have been writing has a large number of such missionaries at work on the field, and under the inspiration of the policy of sending forward all properly qualified applicants the number of these persons whom they designate "honorary" missionaries, of which in 1887 there were but four, we find at present to be no less than seventy-eight. Whether the Methodist Missionary Society has sought to work on a similiar basis and has failed we cannot say. So far as known to us there are but very few—and we honor the few—who have thus served in our foreign missionary work. But Bishop Joyce reports having found in other missions some of our first-class young people, whom he met and talked with, serving on this basis. They are graduates of some of our best colleges and universities, and are devoted and successful missionaries; and the bishop says he believes that if it were generally known that the Missionary Society would accept the services on this plan of qualified young men many such persons would apply to be sent abroad. He at least thinks it is worthy of being put to a practical test.

The Student Volunteer Movement has quickened the mind of the churches generally, as well as of the missionary societies, along all these lines. They have developed their work until it is possible that five hundred or a thousand suitable candidates could at present be found among those pledged for foreign service in the colleges and seminaries, and there is every indication that this number could be increased to an aggregate of a thousand men and women suitable for and willing to enter upon the missionary fields of the several Churches. The problem therefore seems to be imminent and pressing for answer, by what new methods and under what more powerful impulses it is possible to move this force to the front and sustain it, and the successful conditions which may be assumed to follow on the foreign field as a result of their labors. We do not stand face to face with any "theory," but we do stand face to face with a new "condition"—a "condition" which we cannot ignore without being criminal, but which we can scarcely attempt in any way to measure up to without receiving God's blessing.

It is only fair to state that the Church Missionary Society's "faith" policy was abundantly seconded by renewed energy in "works," in their home field. They set about increasing their "auxiliaries," as we would call them, and with great effort to increase the intelligence of the

Church through a larger circulation of their missionary periodicals. It is something startling to think of one little missionary quarterly with a circulation of 874,000, of another live monthly for youth with 882,000, of another with 612,000, another of 444,000, and the greatest and best missionary periodical of any missionary society in the world, having roundly a circulation of 50,000—an aggregate missionary periodical circulation approximating three million copies annually!

THOUGHT-DRIFT IN JAPAN AND CHINA.

The modifications which the thoughts of the people in the far East are now undergoing might be taken as straws, being, as we believe, parts of a profound movement in the great undercurrent of society. The uneasiness of Buddhism in Japan in the presence of Christianity is strongly marked. Observing, as the Buddhists did, the variety in the sects of the several missionary propagandists in Japan, and considering it as indicative of inherent weakness, the Buddhists thought to consolidate their own numerous sects by constructing a creed to which all might conscientiously subscribe. To secure the formulation of such a creed they, some years ago, appointed a compilation committee who drafted what seemed to them a statement of all the essential features of the various sects. The report of this committee was, however, anything but an *irenicon*, for when the several parties came to examine it the Nichiren sect at once entered a strong protest against the composite creed for having omitted four doctrines which they deemed essential to their sect. The committee urged that the doctrines in question were much too abusive of other sects to be given a place in a general declaration of belief. But the Nichiren branch of the community was not to be silenced in this way. Strangely enough, they entered the civil courts, hoping to secure a recognition of the points for which they contended, and both sides were represented by lawyers of recognized ability. The outcome, if it has been decided, we do not know; but the inherent weakness of the community of Buddhists has, through this conflict, quite strongly impressed the Buddhist communion themselves.

The Buddhist papers of Japan have vigorously discussed the "Treaty Revision" in its relation to Christianity and Buddhism respectively. This treaty provides for what is termed mixed residence, or the right of foreigners to take up their abode in any locality within Japanese territory. Hitherto the foreign community has been restricted to comparatively narrow limits, and no right of residence has been acknowledged beyond the bounds of these concessions. Editors of the different Buddhist papers antagonize this feature of the treaty because, they say, it facilitates the extension of Christianity, and puts Buddhism at a disadvantage. As a result of this mixed residence they claim that Christianity will gain in energy, and produce a collision of feeling between the Buddhist and Christian communities. They object to these foreign

Christian residents because Christianity stands in such intimate relation with the countries now represented by their foreign communities, and because the Christians attach small importance to their nationalism. They are stirred to appeal for the establishment of Buddhist institutions under the sanction of the government, and recommend that Buddhists shall take advantage of all the modern appliances of education, and that Buddhist teachers and leaders shall pay special attention to the laboring classes. In addition to all this the Buddhists are exhibiting anxiety about the extent to which the English language is now eagerly desired by business men and government officials. Even the police stations in different parts of the country are now asking for foreign missionaries who will teach their policemen English, and the Buddhists are flurried, if not alarmed, that so many of these policemen delight to attend English Bible classes. The Buddhist periodicals are eagerly guarding their people against the increasing study of English.

Another significant statement comes to us about the movement of Chinese thought. A remarkable change has been introduced by the Chinese government into its civil service examinations. From time immemorial an important part of the examinations for degrees which open the way to office under the Chinese government has been the writing of essays on themes announced in the examination room. These themes have, for centuries past, been taken from the Chinese classics. Illustrations of these may be given as follows: Write a poem on "The sound of the oar, and the green of the hills and water;" or an essay on "He who is sincere will be intelligent, and the intelligent man will be faithful;" or, "To possess ability and yet ask of those who do not know; to know much and yet inquire of those who know little; to possess and yet appear not to possess; to be full and yet empty." A marked modification of these ancient literary examinations has come. Among the subjects now assigned are found those pertaining to an increase of tariff on manufactured goods, the establishment of public libraries in China, the prevention of the issue of spurious silver coins, the desirability of a congress or parliament for China, the greatest needs of armies and navies, the benefits of the existence of different parties in government, the best methods of collecting revenues, the present political condition of Europe, the benefits of great expositions like those of Paris and Chicago, and the relative methods of Chinese and Western education.

This modification is but one of a hundred indications of the awakening of China since the China-Japan war to the necessity of accepting more of Western civilization as the condition of self-preservation. These changes demand Western Christian agents to direct them, and the Chinese government, as well as people, have come to believe that the missionary body is the most disinterested part of the foreign community and their most reliable advisers. They see that the missionaries are not in the country for purposes of gain, and that, in all political issues, they have been just to China and earnest advocates of her surest peace and prosperity.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Paul Mezger. The recent entrance of this scholar upon the duties of a theological instructor at Basel has served to call attention to him. In his inaugural address, delivered November 3, 1896, he considered faith in God, or belief in his existence, in the Christian sense of the words. He developed three propositions, the first of which is that the sole source of the Christian's knowledge of God is the revelation in Jesus Christ. That which distinguishes the Christian from some others in reference to this doctrine is the emphasis he places upon the resurrection of Christ from the dead. To him this is the one essential and absolutely necessary element in the revelation upon which Christianity is founded. He is not content with the idea that the disciples believed Jesus to have triumphed over death, but insists that they could have been filled with their all-conquering faith and lifted out of their despondency alone by the knowledge of his real resurrection. Furthermore, he thinks we cannot maintain ourselves to-day without that assurance. To his mind it is not enough that Jesus revealed in his life and death the love of God; his resurrection was necessary to give a divine testimony to him, and to show his divine power. Mezger's second proposition is that the revelation in Christ alone is sufficient for the establishment of faith. Professor Kaftan has called attention to the fact that this proposition may be taken in two senses. The first is the undeniable fact that the believer grounds the certainty of his faith upon revelation. God's word awakens faith, and faith is limited to what the word produces. But, while this is true for the believer, for the theologian it is not so. The theologian is obliged to find ways in which, by philosophical considerations, he can demonstrate that the only path to a knowledge of God is that of faith and revelation. That is, theology as a system of thought, demands one method of proof, and the soul, as conscious of an inner experience, another. The third proposition of Mezger is that in the realm of dogmatic theology the revelation in Christ is the source of truth. Especially is this true of the personality of God. By making revelation the source of Christian knowledge Mezger confines dogmatics to the more practical elements of theology, which is a great gain. The whole train of thought, which can be found at length in Mezger's *Christlicher Offenbarungsglaube* (Basel, Reich, 1896), is one which will unquestionably rule the future of Christian theology. Speculation has been running riot in the thinking of the Church for sixteen hundred years and more. If Jesus came to reveal God, what need have we of so much speculation? As a mere intellectual exercise it may do very well; but when it is palmed off on us as Christian theology it does us immense damage. Back to Christ! In the New Testament we have the record of his revelation of God.

O. Wuttig. This writer is worthy of mention here because of a recent bold attempt to place the date of the composition of the Gospel according to John in the period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, rather than late in the life of John, where in the opinion of most of the best qualified authorities it belongs. He fixes on the sixtieth year of John's life and the sixty-second or sixty-third year of our era, prior to John's departure for Ephesus, as the true date. See his *Das Johanneische Evangelium und seine Abfassungszeit* (The Gospel according to John and the Date of its Composition), Leipzig, Deichert Nachf, 1896. He holds that the gospel was composed at the request or by the permission of a considerable number of apostles and others who had been witnesses of our Lord's life, words, and deeds. This is an inference from the use of the plural in chapter i, 14; also from 1 John i, 1–3, which was originally intended as an introduction to the gospel, but which was developed into a companion document to it. Wuttig thinks that this view is substantiated by the earliest tradition, though it is contradicted by the later, which has for its representatives Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, who regarded the fourth as the last, rather than as the first, gospel written. It is his opinion that the assembly of apostles and other Christians which gave their sanction to this gospel was held at Jerusalem to choose a successor to James the Just—recorded in Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, book iii, chap. ii—though he regards Eusebius as in error when he places the assemblage subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. Wuttig denies that there is any evidence that John's gospel is intended to supplement the first three gospels, and affirms that, instead, the synoptics were designed to supplement the fourth. The principal evidence in favor of this he finds in Luke i, 1–4, where Luke speaks of many who have undertaken to set forth the things believed among Christians, "even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." These "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" were those who approved John's gospel. John xx, 30, 31, he regards as indicating that nothing had previously been written which could induce belief. By making the words "till I come" (John xxi, 22) refer to the destruction of Jerusalem he gets another argument for an early date. Of course, however, it is evident that this is no argument, since no one denies that whatever Christ spoke he spoke prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, whensoever it may have been placed on written record. Over that it can hardly be supposed that anyone could wish to dispute. On the whole, we are inclined to regard the argument as exceedingly weak, though it is distinguished by a certain ingenuity. Yet it must be said it is not altogether without probability. It certainly does account in a very satisfactory way for the use of the plural in John i, 14, and in 1 John i, 1–3. But nothing is easier than to overcome such small verbal difficulties by means of hypotheses framed to suit them. The real question is, not how to account for such minor phenomena, but how to account for the great and important ones.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Das Leben Jesu (The Life of Jesus). By Willibald Beyschlag. Third edition. Halle a. S., Strieu, 1893. Although Beyschlag's book is not as well known in America as that of Weiss, it is almost, if not quite, as valuable. One of its novel and helpful features is the fact that it puts all the discussions of mooted questions, such as miracles, the mission, the sinlessness, and the resurrection of Jesus into the first volume, leaving the second volume for a positive setting forth of the life of our Lord unencumbered by discussions which break the thread of the narrative. Beyschlag firmly believes that Jesus wrought miracles, though he affirms that they in no case violated natural law. Very certain it is that the New Testament nowhere teaches that the miracles of Jesus violated natural law; and as experience teaches us that the laws of nature continue uninterrupted in their operation, and religious faith requires us to believe that these laws are the expression of the will of God who changeth not, it is better to take Beyschlag's view. But now he goes farther and by implication at least seems to make the conformity or non-conformity of the several miracles to natural law the criterion by which to judge of the trustworthiness or untrustworthiness of miracle stories. This, too, would be justifiable, if he had unquestionable knowledge of the *modus operandi* of each miracle and of all the laws of nature. Because he has no such knowledge he ought to refrain from applying the criterion he does. But the misfortune is that he assumes that he possesses the knowledge in question. This enables him as he thinks to see that the raisings from the dead are true ; for in every case while the person was really dead he assumes that there was in the body some spark of life which our Lord could kindle into full life. If this be the actual fact the raisings from the dead would still be true miracles, since God's power only could arrest the progress of death and restore life. But on the same principle he regards the feeding of the multitudes as not miraculous. The five loaves and the two fishes were not miraculously multiplied, but naturally, that is, by additions from the stores of others in the company. The reason for thus explaining away the miracle is that God has a regular method of providing baked bread and cured fish, and that God never violates his methods. Here the fallacy consists in supposing that the usual order of nature and the laws of nature are identical, which is not the case. The usual order is produced by the usual combination of laws. Without any violation of the laws a different combination might produce unusual results.

Einleitung in die Philosophie (Introduction to Philosophy). By Friedrich Paulsen. Berlin, Hertz, 1892. This is one of the most valuable books of the present decade, though it is chiefly useful, of course, to the general student, the specialist in philosophy being supposed to

have passed the stage of introduction. The work is that of a master, with whom the handling of the vast material is easy; and there is a certain quality about it which for want of a better designation we call good nature. Without superciliousness Paulsen takes up one view after another with perfect composure, and deals with each fairly, yet with an evident sense of the ease of his task. He never seems to fear any theory, and hence shows no sign of impatience when any opinion he rejects is strongly urged upon his attention. We choose for special mention his section on "Evolution in the Domain of Human History." His main thesis is that the same law of progress is evident here as in the physical world. It is not by means of forethought, but of spontaneous unfolding from germinal beginnings, that social institutions arise. The products of the human mind take, in the main, the form of undesigned becoming; action according to purpose plays but a small part in human progress. For example, law is not an invention of jurists or legislators, it grows with the growth of the people, as the external form of their society. Originally law was custom; it gradually becomes obligatory by the agency of the proper authorities. Thenceforth it is an object of conscious development. Along with the unwritten law written law comes into use. In codifications law looks like a designed whole; but whoever considers the matter historically will see that it is a growth, that it is rather a systematization and an adaptation of what already existed than an original production. These statements are intended to show that the same principle of evolution holds in the realm of human law as pertains to the realm of unconscious nature. Paulsen's putting of the case is as strong as possible, and of this particular feature of evolutionary history as of any other. If it breaks down here it breaks down throughout. Now, though human invention did not provide law human ingenuity discovered it, and human wisdom adapted it. Is this a small matter? It is, for practical purposes, the all-important matter. Right is right, whether discovered or not; but only if discovered can it be applied. Nor does history show that the discovery is accidental. Rather have men sought to know what forms of restraint and requirement best supply the needs of human society; and by experiment and the noting of failures and successes of various methods they have gradually found the best. Besides, lack of all these experiments existed right in abstract waiting for discovery and application at human hands. That abstract right is also not accidental, nor discovered, but evidently an attribute of the Author of all things.

Antoine Court et ses Sermons (Antoine Court and his Sermons). By Professor Ernst Combe. Lausanne, Bridel & Co., 1896. This book is valuable because of the light it sheds on the contents of the preaching of the Gospel in one of the most interesting periods of Christian history. Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the brilliant coterie of French reformed preachers was broken up and scattered far and wide.

For the "Church in the Wilderness," as the persecuted Protestants of France are pathetically styled, preaching was one of the most effective of the means of grace. Even women felt the inspiration of the Spirit to employ their powers of public speech for the purpose of restoring the fallen and confirming the faithful in their adherence to their convictions of duty. And among the men who were earnest preachers of the Gospel and defenders of the rights of the Protestants was Antoine Court. It is a misfortune that we have almost nothing of the sermons of these great men in our possession. Many of them were printed, but they had to be hidden or destroyed, that their readers might escape persecution. In this way nearly everything of value has been lost to us. For many reasons this is an incalculable loss—for the homiletc, because their preservation would have shed light on the history of preaching, by furnishing us specimens of able sermons in a time of peculiar trial; for the history of doctrine, in that we cannot so well reproduce the practical application of each doctrinal position as we could did we still possess these sermons; and for the history of the persecuted Church, since these sermons doubtless contained matter which would have been luminous in this respect. It is, therefore, a gratifying service which Combe has rendered that he has been able to give us five of those sermons by Court, preached, indeed, not in France, but in Switzerland, and therefore less valuable, yet still opening to us something of a view of the subject-matter of the preaching of that troublous period. Court here defends the right and proclaims the duty of meetings on the part of Protestants for purposes of public worship and the preaching of the word, basing his arguments on, or rather drawing them from, the Scripture. At the same time he defends the Protestants of the period against the false and evil reports so freely circulated concerning them. It is a collection which ought to make Romanists blush for their past record, and of which Protestants have reason to be proud. A recent Roman Catholic writer has said that a gust of popular passion swept multitudes out of the Roman Church, and that it will take a similar gust to sweep the multitudes back again. The remark is significant. Is such a storm being worked up? If so, those who are swept back will not be persecuted in Protestant lands as Protestants were in the days of Antoine Court.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Movement for a Court of Honor in the German Universities. While the number of students' duels has increased in Germany, particularly in Berlin, during recent years, there has also been an increasing effort on the part of some to check the evil. In recent months an attempt has been made to secure the establishment of a court of honor in the Berlin University, which, it is believed, might gradually abolish the duel among its students. Strangely enough, this promising movement is opposed by the university authorities. A writer in *Die Christliche*

Welt, from whom we gather these facts, explains them in part on the ground that the ruling classes of Germany do not favor the abolition of the duel. The principal reasons he assigns, however, are based upon the relation of the university authorities to the students. He thinks that these authorities fear the effect of such a movement upon the attention of the students to study, and more especially the character of the students themselves who favor the movement, most of whom are regarded as belonging to the social democratic elements in the university.

Circulation of Religious Journals in the Fatherland. With commendable frankness the publishers of *Die Christliche Welt* have announced to their readers the condition of the circulation of that sheet. The highest point it ever reached was 4,555, in 1893, which fact is stated as though it were something quite remarkable. The price of the paper is eight marks (about $2) per year. It consists of twelve pages, two of which, or less, are given up to advertisements, most of them being announcements of books published by the publisher of the paper. From this brief statement it is evident that the reading of religious papers is not as common in Germany as in this country; that the cost of production must be far less, and that the expectation of profit from their publication cannot be so great.

One Decade of the Evangelical League. This organization, which is somewhat similar in spirit to the much misunderstood "A. P. A." of our country, has recently held its tenth general convention in Krefeld. To those who recall the bitter opposition which Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation met at the hands of Luther and the Germans generally it will be interesting to note that at the very first session of the convention, which was in the form of a regular religious service, a Reformation hymn of Zwingli was sung, and it is reported that the whole convention was visibly conducted in the spirit of Zwingli. The organization does not meet with the universal approval, nor with the general support, which it could desire. And now that the first decade of its history is past its opponents are asking what it has accomplished. To this its adherents reply that the question is, not what they have accomplished, but what they might have accomplished if, instead of indifference or opposition, they had had the hearty cooperation of three times or five times as many as have labored with them. They claim that if they had received such cooperation they could have established deaconess homes in all predominantly Romanist sections where Protestants reside in small numbers, and are in need of Protestant nurses and helpers in time of sickness and trouble; that they could have established a daily paper in charge of distinctly Protestant managers; and that they could undertake or encourage the work of direct evangelization. It certainly is in bad taste always for those who do not join in furthering a good cause to cast reflections upon what the laborers have done.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In the estimate of some observers our republican form of government is not a faultless system. Among such critics is Professor Goldwin Smith, who writes in the *North American* for March on the question, "Is the Constitution Outworn?" Venturing as "a foreigner" to discuss our national institutions, and attributing to "Americans generally" the feeling that the present is "an anxious time," he enumerates in an ominous catalogue certain of our political defects. The Bryanism of 1896 he terms "an insurrection of all the elements of discontent against the American commonwealth." Its socialistic feature was "directly subversive of the principle of self-help and freedom of acquisition on which American institutions are founded," and while it "polled a formidably large vote" in 1896 it is "likely to do the same in 1900." The difficulty of amending the Constitution is, next, "so great as to amount practically to an impossibility." So simple a change as the transfer of inauguration day from March to April for better weather seemed a few years since impossible because of the constitutional safeguards and because it would have made "the difference of a month's presidency between one party and the other." Again, the founders of the Constitution intended that the President should be elected "calmly and without disturbance of the commonwealth by a small delegation of select citizens." But, in fact, "the republic is thrown every four years into a struggle for the elective monarchy, with the vast patronage annexed to it, which entails not a little of the political and moral evil of a civil war. . . . The presidential election of 1900 seems likely to bring on a crisis inferior in violence and danger only to that of 1861." Furthermore, Professor Smith cites "the encroachment of Congress, particularly of the Senate, on the authority of the President;" the change in the Senate from a "conservative" to a "revolutionary" body; the "admission of territories to premature statehood;" the restrictions upon the development of statesmanship; and "the want of initiative and control in legislation," as also in finance, "arising from the exclusion of the responsible ministers of state from the assembly which makes the laws, regulates the expenditure, and imposes the taxes." Party, moreover, while "an accident" in England, is now "the government of the United States." The change of administration each four years is "fatal to continuity of policy." The Supreme Court itself is susceptible to political influence. The use of inconvertible paper as legal tender is now recognized by the Supreme Court, though, in his time, Tom Paine himself "actually wished to make any proposal to return to it punishable with death." Our present system of protection was hardly foreseen by the fathers, nor would they have sanctioned it. The questions of franchise and naturalization are not finally settled. The gov-

ernment of dependencies, should annexation occur, "is a task to which democracy has not yet shown itself adapted." Our weak points, in a word, "may in some measure be practically covered, and the edifice may be patched so as to stand, though it cannot be thoroughly repaired. Its soundness is apparently about to be tried by the stress of no ordinary storm." So much for Old World prophecies!

THE leading article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April discusses "Creation; or, The Transmutation of Energy." Its writer is Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D. With a full appreciation of the value of present scientific investigations he also exalts the scriptural doctrine of the creation. "Any scheme of theistic cosmology," he affirms, "must assume that all was potentially in God, and that in creation this potentiality became actualized, by some process, in material which is apprehensible by the senses. Creative energy went out from him at his command and was transformed into a universe of matter and spirit, of intelligence and goodness." Professor G. H. Gilbert follows with a paper on "The New Chronology of Paul's Life." After challenging the theories of Harnack, Holtzmann, and McGiffert, he himself undertakes the perplexing task of fixing dates in the apostle's life. The evidence he finds to be against Paul's martyrdom during Nero's persecution in the summer of 64, and rather in favor of its occurrence in "the last three or four years of Nero's reign," or "the period between 65 or 66 and 68." Under the title of "The Religious Significance of Recent English Verse" the Rev. E. M. Chapman writes of the poetry of James Thomson, John Davidson, Robert Louis Stevenson, Kipling, and others. The three following articles are: "Modern Lights on the Reformation," by the Rev. James Lindsay, M.A.; "Early Religion of the Hindus," by Professor H. W. Magoun, Ph.D.; and "The Problem of the Currency," by Professor C. S. Walker, Ph.D. The final contributed article, by N. D. Hillis, D.D., on "The Pilgrim Fathers and the Message of Puritanism" was the author's address given in Chicago on Forefathers' Day, 1897. For its sterling patriotism and high religious teaching the paper deserves to be read by all citizens and legislators. The editorial departments, including "Critical Notes," "Sociological Notes," and "Notes of Recent Publications," are, as usual, ably sustained.

IN the *London Quarterly* for April are found various important reviews of recent books. They include: 1. "Our Lord's Knowledge as Man;" 2. "Bryce's Impressions of South Africa;" 3. "The Making of a Great Preacher," the subject being Spurgeon; "Civil and Religious Liberty in the United States, 1600–1800;" "The Klondike;" "Joseph Arch;" "France as it Is To-day;" "A University Church;" "The Crisis in the West Indies;" "An Eyewitness on Korea."

THE *New World* for March opens with an article by C. F. Dole on "Truth and How We Know It." By its "essential nature," he concludes, truth "must make a moral as well as intellectual demand upon men. What if a man's life is out of the harmony, at variance with itself and with others, egotistic and selfish? The eye cannot well see which is out of the focus. So with the mind of the man whose life is out of line with the thought of the divine universe. Thus, for him who wishes to have the sight of truth, the law is not merely to see, it is also to be righteous, it is also to love." P. E. More follows with a paper on "Two Famous Maxims of Greece"—these sayings being, "Know thyself," and "Nothing too much." As the result of three months' observation in the East, J. T. Sunderland writes on "Christian Missions in India." Among the important hindrances to the success of the Gospel in that land he enumerates "the number of Christian sects and denominations," the "character of the doctrines preached"—as, for instance, the "scheme of vicarious atonement" taught both by Catholic and Protestant—and the personal lives of Europeans in India who stand "as the representatives of Christianity." Under the title of "A Satyr Aspires," H. C. Greene analyzes some of the poetry of Walt Whitman and discovers his excellencies. F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, next considers "The Place of Prophecy in Christianity;" W. A. Scott notices "Henry George and his Economic System;" and Frank Sewall discusses "Philosophy as Affected by Nationality." As a member of the body he describes G. Bonet-Maury writes on "The Protestant Faculty of Theology of the Paris University," and outlines their organization and work. In the final article, on "Esther as Babylonian Goddess," C. H. Toy regards the objections to the historicity of the Book of Esther as "at present insuperable. . . . It is possible that future investigations and discoveries may throw light on points now obscure, and, till additional information is forthcoming, we may reserve opinion on the origin of the story."

IN the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April the reader finds: 1. "The New Pneumatology," by R. A. Webb, D.D.; 2. "The Ancient Hebrew Polity," by B. M. Palmer, D.D.; 3. "The Diatessaron of Tatian, and Its Evidential Value," by P. P. Flournoy, D.D.; 4. "The Comings of Our Lord," by W. A. Alexander, D.D.; 5. "The Religious Element in Education—Parochial Schools," by R. P. Kerr, D.D.; 6. "Two Famous Christmas Days—496 and 800," by E. D. Warfield, LL.D.; 7. "Was Homer a Poetic Myth?" by E. L. Patton, LL.D.

THE *American Journal of Archæology*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1897, opens with the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Council of the Archæological Institute of America. The reports of the American schools at Athens and Rome follow. Much other matter of a miscellaneous nature contributes to the excellence of this voluminous archæological publication.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

God: Nature and Attributes. By RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo, pp. 280. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $3.

This is the fifth volume of that monumental product, *Studies in Theology*, in which the long, pure, studious life of a gifted and honored bishop culminates. In the second volume of the series the certainty of the existence of an eternal personal Cause as ground and source of the universe was convincingly shown. In this fifth volume the discussion concerning God proceeds to his nature and attributes; nature and revelation are drawn upon for the materials of the argument; and it is shown that nature and revelation lead to one and the same conclusion. "In revelation creatorship is ascribed to God. The universe furnishes in itself proof that it was created. Revelation declares what kind of a being God is, and points out certain attributes which inhere in his nature and are of his essence. The universe declares to reason that the Being who created it must, in nature and attributes, be identical with the Being thus posited in revelation." The present volume is so related to the one on *Cosmic Theism* that neither is complete without the other; but, for the benefit of anyone who may not possess the other, Bishop Foster recapitulates here, in thirty pages of prefatory statement, the most essential points of his previous argument, dealing especially with the difference between matter and spirit, between subject and attribute, and with creatorship. It is shown that theology is a true science, although physical science and religion have distinctive provinces. Although God is not an object of immediate cognition, and does not appear at all as an object of perception, yet the reason discovers him as existing as the necessary ground of phenomena of persons and things, and from these phenomena, through which he is manifested, his attributes become known, the conclusions of the reason concerning him being all in harmony with the added light given in revelation. The universe came into being by a specific divine volition and act. God created its substance out of nothing; and the subsequent arranging and building of the universe into an orderly cosmos is equally due to the immediate presence, power, and wisdom of God. He originates the so-called natural forces, directs their action, and determines their effects. They do not evolve collocations and organisms, either fortuitously or intelligently, of their own motion without him, but they do precisely what he makes them do, and are powerless for any other results. "The cosmos is his product in all stages of its development as really as it would be were each effect the result of his immediate agency without the atom." The account of creation set forth in the Scriptures recognizes that the *formation* of the

universe was a secondary or mediate process of the creative scheme. Just how far and how completely the universe was formed at once by divine fiat does not appear. The nebular hypothesis is not contradictory of Scripture. "For aught that appears, God having primarily created the atoms and stored them with atoms to that end, the worlds were built through their instrumentality in infinite ages; but, whether so or not, he was the great builder. The popular theory that the work was immediately completed, the inorganic and organic alike, the text of Scripture does not require, and science discredits it. That there have been other specific and immediate creations than the substances of matter and without the instrumental agency of forces working in matter, is not only clearly taught in the Bible, but is rationally certain. For example, whatever life is, it is an immediate product of divine agency in its beginnings. This is the *dictum* of science through its most accredited representatives. Life is not a spontaneous production of mere matter. It made its appearance ages after the creation of material substance. Immediate divine agency was necessary to its production. Later still, the entity of human spirits required a direct and separate creation; and that was necessary whichever theory of the origin of souls, creationism, or traducianism be adopted." The God who created the universe abides with and is immanent in it; we are not to suppose that the orderly cosmos as now established runs itself or that God is disconnected from its affairs; on the contrary, he remains as the direct cause of each individual life and is actively present in the smallest events of every moment. Through fourteen chapters Bishop Foster's lofty and cogent reasoning unfolds and demonstrates God's nature, his spirituality, unity, eternity, absoluteness, and unconditionedness, personality, freedom, and ethicalness; and his attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence, omniscience, goodness, justice, and truth. The chapter on the "Goodness of God" recalls to us the tender and happy sermon which we heard from Bishop Foster's lips in a recent season at Martha's Vineyard, on the reasonableness, obligatoriness, and blessedness of gratitude, the loving soul's great privilege of praising God. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits," was the keynote of that uplifted, melting, and encouraging hour; and in this volume the spirit which overflowed in that discourse marshals and maneuvers with masterful intellect the strong, unanswerable argument which, sweeping all difficulties and doubts before it, proves the goodness of God. At the summit of his life our bishop testifies like Browning, "I, who saw Power, see Love now perfect too." Of suffering and pain and death he writes: "Happiness was the object, pain is the incident. The provision for happiness is at its maximum, the liability to pain at its minimum. Death is not less benignant than life. The same love that devised the former appointed the latter. It is impossible to find a single arrangement in the whole realm of life which does not have for its primary end the good of the organism in which it is found." Bishop Foster cannot agree with those who hold that God is

ignorant of the acts of free beings before they have committed them. He says: "The ablest defense of that view which we have seen is made by Dr. L. D. McCabe in his two learned and masterly treatises, *The Foreknowledge of God* and *Divine Nescience.* Much as we admire their ability . . . we have to confess ourselves not convinced, and still remain of the opposite opinion." He adds that Dr. McCabe's argument puts its author in line with the system of Calvinian necessitationism. On the closing pages of Bishop Foster's book are these words: "The sum of our conclusions shows that there is perfect harmony between the teachings of the Bible and the deepest reaches of human reason. The God set forth in the former is the God demanded by the latter. There is no break in the harmony—neither defect nor excess nor contradiction. Reason has nothing to allege which revelation has omitted, and will permit nothing to be removed which revelation has affirmed. Neither science nor philosophy brings forward any facts or principles which call for a modification of the divine statement. The wonderful fact is that after all the improvements in knowledge, and growth of the power of expression, we still are compelled to go to the ancient Scriptures for the truest and richest delineation of the divine character. Neither reason nor fancy can improve the picture by addition or subtraction. What poet or sage has ever surpassed or equaled the sublime predictions of Moses, David, Isaiah, and others of the ancient prophets, not to mention the more simple teachings of Him in whom all the matchless attributes were incarnated? Astronomy has brought treasures of knowledge from the stars; geology has quarried into the bowels of the earth; metaphysics has searched the deepest secrets of the mind itself. Has any light come from any quarter which has corrected any teaching of the holy books? We challenge the learning of the world to furnish the proof. There it stands and must forever stand, as impregnable as the geometric axioms, unchangeable and unmodifiable."

The Truth of the Incarnation in Certain Practical Relations. By Rev. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 18. Hartford, Conn.: Congregational Theological Seminary Press.

This is the annual address before the Alumni, delivered June 1, 1897, and reprinted from the Seminary Record. It has the intellectual discrimination and analytic power, the fine spiritual insight, the ethical fervor, the electric force, the lucid splendor of diction, and the vital continuity which characterize the public utterances of Dr. Lyman, whose rare popularity as preacher and lecturer in colleges and theological schools is not mysterious. The central idea of this address is that the genius of the Incarnation is reproduced in various forms in the subsequent life of Christian men and Christian Churches, and such reproduction is affirmed to exist in the field of CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, the field of CHRISTIAN PREACHING, and the field of CHRISTIAN CHURCH ORGANIZATION. Christ is held to be in some sense reincarnate in the great creeds of Christendom, in the ecumenical creed, or the true doctrinal consensus

at any time among the real disciples of Christ. The main fabric of Christian doctrine is in some degree the intellectual mold into which Christ's spirit flows; the great Incarnation is intellectually reincarnate in the mental apprehensions of the Church. The doctrine of inspiration involves this as its sequel, and you cannot construct a Christian psychology which will admit a dynamic rather than a mechanical inspiration and not also admit something of this truth as its continued corollary. "At this point," says the author, "I hear your Protestant battle-axes rattle. If I escape being cut down before I have a chance to explain I shall be fortunate. The theological way, you know, is to erase your antagonist first and let him explain afterward! Are you flinging us back, you will cry, upon the vanished dream of the authority of the consensus, the infallibility of dogma? Well, no. Cervantes's genial satire applies, no doubt, to theologians: 'Every man is as God made him, and sometimes a great deal worse.' But I dare to assert that the authority of the great doctrinal consensus, as articulating something of the very spirit of Christ, is one permanent pole in the intellectual battery of Christendom, and we are in danger of forgetting it. The other pole is the right and authority of private judgment, which we are in no danger of forgetting. But this rests upon the same basis and thunders with the same warrant as that which lies back of the authority of the consensus, namely, the truth that Christ is in the soul of the believer. The point is that neither pole of the battery plays true without the other pole. Is not this the very secret of a sane and spiritual Protestantism, a sane and symmetrical manhood even, that it shall blend and balance what perhaps seems at first intellectually inconsistent? Law and liberty, faith and reason, society and the individual: and it is rational to blend them, for the evidence that each contains a truth is greater than the evidence that the apparent discrepancy between the two is real. It is rational then to hold to both, or something of both, at the same time, though with wide-extended arms, and find in the living man, which is the link between them, the synthesis which eludes our speculative vision. Instead of this our young students are apt to oscillate for a time between the Dan of criticism and the Beersheba of orthodoxy, and finally camp at Dan! At present the emphasis seems to be thrown upon the critical, the individual pole of the battery. It is time then to emphasize the other pole—the authority of the consensus. And this other is not merely a theologian's dream. Real theologians don't dream. The philosophy of evolution itself, in its very latest verdict, reaffirms, if I mistake not, an authority in the past, and with this also agrees that profounder philosophy of man which from Plato to Hegel has maintained that truth is in some sense *in* the mind, not simply observed by it. Even these 'quicksilver mines of metaphysics,' as Doctor Shedd used to call them, with the curious grace that sometimes came to his iron pen, reveal some solid stepping stones for faith. But my Puritan friend—and the friendship of a Puritan is worth keeping

—sternly reminds me that this doctrine of Christ speaking 'ex cathedra' through the Church, even the whole Church, in the creeds, curves by an inexorable logic along a path which, passing the Anglican halfway house, leads on toward the Vatican. I admit it if this doctrine be held alone. But so, also, the doctrine of Christ in the individual believer and the right of private judgment, if held alone, curves by a logic equally inexorable either toward rationalism or toward the fantasies of esoteric dreams. Why not employ the full binocular of the soul of the Christian history—the double truth, scriptural and resplendent—that Christ is *both* in the individual mind and in the mind of the Church universal? Both poles are necessary to compass the orb of Christian truth. There is a certain comfort in adding Princeton and Andover together and dividing by two. . . . The Church is not inerrant. The Church has sometimes wandered far away; whole populations may apostatize. Creeds are neither inerrant nor complete. Christ's Incarnation in them is not complete. They must be tested by time, by their fruits in the correspondence evident through long periods between them and the common Christian life. But, after all proper limitation and abatement, the fact remains, and it seems to me blessed, that Christ's Incarnation was, and is to a certain degree, reincarnate in the intellectual apprehensions of his true followers. There is no more mysticism in this view than there is in St. Paul, and there is not enough in him to hurt anybody. The great Nicene Creed only defines the elements that enter into a mystery. *How* they are blended in the divine depths of that mystery the creed does not attempt to explain. The subtle Greek intelligence did not intend and did not dare to inventory the contents of that mystery. We must not import our New England idiom to Nicea. In our anthropomorphic Western translations, half Latin, half Saxon, the impression of this delicate Greek reserve, as to the content of the Incarnation, is lost. No Greek supposed that the creed explained Christ. But so far as it does go the creed is more than an extraneous intellectual observation upon Christ; more than an acute speculation concerning Christ; more, even, than a careful exegesis of New Testament Christology. It is the precipitate of an intuition of Christ which reproduces in a certain degree the Christ upon whom it gazes. Now, if these things are true, then it would seem to follow that the genius of Christian doctrine is not the genius of thought merely, but the genius of the Incarnation as well, and the attainment of true insight into doctrine is not a mere speculative *tour de force*, but it is to be sought also through personal intimacy with Christ, through a pure and gentle life, through the cultivation of the heart. And does it not also follow that we must honor the old creeds more? Does not our loyalty to Christ involve something of loyalty also to other people's loyalty to the same Christ, and to their statements of that loyalty? We are to be loyal to this great loyalty of the dead and to that in the dead which lives forever. We listen to what I once heard that great orator, Doctor Chapin, call 'The roll of drums from the Valley of the Shadow of Death.' Here is

the intellectual continuity and consistency of Christian history. A great creed is not unlike a great cathedral, only far more permanently vital. Yet, every cathedral is for use and reverence, not for forgetfulness and scorn. In some transfiguring hour of your life you have perhaps found yourself in York Minster, or under the great nave at Chartres, or beneath the spires of Cologne, at vespers, it may be, an hour before sunset, when 'the lights like glories fall.' Of course, you were not there to fling cheap cavil upon the old centuries that built the pile. On the contrary, you were *one* with the old ages. The shafts of the hoary columns, the vast arch of the nave, the blaze yonder of the great rose window, and, high in the misty dome, that ray of light as from the quiver of the cherubim; these were not symbols and synonyms of mediæval superstition. No, no. Life beat here, you say, life built these walls, the life of faith and love, the vision of realms ineffable; these reared this pile and are eloquent through it forever. But so, and far more so, of the great creed. Love built it. Faith built it. Christ is in it. I love it. It shall not enslave me, for the same Christ may speak to me also, but neither will I be disloyal to it. Back of the verbiage, the 'time vesture,' as Goethe called it, is a soul of immortal verity. I must assert, not merely historic venerableness, not merely antique beauty, but also a certain perennial truth and continuing authority in the common doctrine of the Church universal. I cling to this more sinewy, and, as it seems to me, more spiritual, estimate of the great wrestling past, in which also Christ dwelt, as truly as he dwells with us to-day. This is no bigotry. It is simply the Pauline logic of a redoubled and reverberating Incarnation applied in the intellectual field. Is doctrinal truth then complete? Is doctrinal definition final? That does not follow. Subordinate externals become obsolete. Archaisms vanish. Time winnows the chaff away with the ceaseless beating of his wings. The avalanches slide off the Alpine summits, while the Granite of God abides. And this abides—that the voice of Christ is forever vocal in the irenic creeds, and a genuine new growth in credal statement will supplement, not supplant, what issued from the old Nicean and Chalcedonian stem." In like manner Dr. Lyman goes on to show that Christian preaching is at the core of it a reincarnation of the spirit of Christ in the personality of the preacher and in the forms of the speaker's art; and also that the genius of the Incarnation vitally reappears again in corporate Church organization and enterprise.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Evolution or Creation. By LUTHER TRACY TOWNSEND, D.D., author of *Credo, Fate of Republics, The Arena and the Throne, Bible Theology and Modern Thought, Mosaic Record and Modern Science*, and *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*. 12mo. pp. 318. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is "a critical review of the scientific and scriptural theories of creation and certain related subjects." It is "written for Christian

people who are perplexed with certain conclusions reached by many celebrated scientists, by not a few distinguished philosophers, and by some theologians." The author's effort, in all his writings on these subjects, has been first to "ascertain what the Bible teaches, and then as far as possible to harmonize all discoveries and facts with those teachings, having meanwhile the most implicit confidence in the absolute correctness of all Bible revelations when rightly interpreted." As to evolution, which is as yet an unproved hypothesis because of many missing links, he says truly that, if all those links were discovered, they would only prove a divine creative forecast in the universe and not by any necessity a naturalistic evolution. Wherefore, no man need disturb himself about evolution, since, even if its proof were made complete, it need not, when rightly understood, impair any of the foundations of Christian faith. This Dr. McCosh and other eminent Christian thinkers long ago pointed out. Professor James Dwight Dana, who is in the front rank of philosophic naturalists, pays this tribute to the Christian faith: "I find nothing in my view of evolution to impair or disturb my religious faith; that is, my faith in Christ as the source of all hope for time and for eternity. . . . The wave of scientific skepticism is already on the decline, and it is beginning to be seen, more clearly than ever, that science can have nothing to say against moral or spiritual questions, and that it fulfills its highest purpose in manifesting more and more the glory of God." Concerning destructive biblical criticism the author writes: "It sought to eliminate from the Christian religion everything supernatural; but, quite contrary to the expectations of those who originated the movement near the end of the eighteenth century, it has resulted in placing Christianity on a firmer basis than ever before occupied." Constructive criticism, thoroughly Christian and evangelical, has seized the weapons with which the enemies of supernaturalism were seeking to destroy the credibility and authority of the Bible, and has turned those very weapons against those who invented them in a manner adequately defensive of the Bible and destructive only of the ingenious hostile critics, who now find themselves "hoist with their own petard." The author is sure that "Supernaturalism as represented by the Christian religion was never more potent than at this very hour. . . . The period of destructive criticism in all its phases is passing, and a restoration of primitive orthodoxy, on a more decided intellectual plane than ever before, has already begun." He adopts a recent prophecy in the *London Quarterly Review*: "The twentieth century will find the structure of the Christian faith more firmly founded, more widely extended, more abundantly enriched and strengthened than ever before in the history of Christendom;" and he predicts that the next quarter of a century will call forth from the ablest minds in the civilized world—from those engaged in secular and scientific pursuits, as well as from those occupied in distinctively religious affairs—a great and triumphant body of literature in exposition and illustration of the sublime truths of the Christian religion. Dr.

Townsend is a man who, with the facts of science before him and the recent methods of Bible study familiar to him, still defends the literalism of the Bible account of creation, and is a thoroughgoing literalist also in reference to many other things in the Scriptures which much of modern scholarship does not interpret literally. However anybody may differ from the author's views in any particular, no one can fairly deny that he writes as one who knows, and has intelligently weighed, all that the latest research and scholarship have to say, *pro and con*, upon the matters he discusses. His volume must command respect by its knowledge and its ability; and it traverses a wide range of subject. He discusses the various views of the Bible account of creation, the dogmatism of naturalism, naturalistic theories of the origin of life, spontaneous generation, bathybius and its kindred, and bioplasm; the history of the hypothesis of evolution, human fossils, monkeys and men, human degeneracy; the scientific account of the beginning of things, classification of geologic periods, Mosaic days, the law of types; the ice age, the diversity of opinion as to the human period; geological and archæological research as to man's first appearance on the earth; primitive men and race unity, the rough stone age of geology as identical with the antediluvian age of the Bible; the Trinity from the philosophical, scientific, and biblical points of view; the Logos in history; Christ as the Creator of material forms, and of life, and of man, and of woman; and the solitariness and majesty of man. The chapter on "Enterprise in Apes and Missing Links," where the author, with entire gravity and seriousness, presents the theory of "monkey evolution" in plain language, stripped of scholastic and scientific phraseology, is immensely and legitimately funny. In the chapter on "The Ice Age and the Mosaic Week," he quotes Professor Asa Gray, "the most profoundly philosophic mind among American naturalists," as saying that "the general classification of the world's flora found in the Bible is scientifically correct." In the chapter on "The Trinity and the Logos" he shows that the doctrine of a trinity is found outside the Bible as well as in it. He calls the following from Professor Huxley a trinitarian formula: "Unity of power, unity of form, and unity of substantial composition make up the one physical universe;" he refers to Professor Benjamin Pierce's scientific lecture on "The Combining of Law, Force, and Intention in the Universe" as a trinitarian argument; he notes that Professor Lester F. Ward, Paleobotanist of the United States Survey, enumerates as essentials and constants of the universe, first, form; second, forces; and third, law of evolution; and then the author says that the thought which these three scientists have in mind is a "confession that the doctrine of a trinity is written on the face of the universe as really as Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Draper found it enfolded in the sunbeam." After more quotation and discussion he concludes thus: "We insist that in the universe there is law, which Fichte declares is God; there is power, which Carlyle declares is God; there is material man-

ifestation, which Professor Bain declares is God; and these three, as Professors Huxley and Pierce and Lester F. Ward assure us, constitute the one physical universe, all of which can mean nothing less than this: that the First Cause has builded into the material universe the doctrine of the Trinity as clearly and emphatically as it is revealed in the sacred Scriptures. These sayings of Fichte, Carlyle, Bain, Huxley, Pierce, and Ward are a suggestive commentary on the remarkable announcement of the apostle, 'The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.'" Dr. Townsend closes his book in the same confidence with which he began: "Science and philosophy, when they have done their most thorough work, are found to teach nothing that is at variance with the revelations of the Bible, if those revelations have received careful and wise interpretation." Wherefore, let not even Mr. Much-Afraid be fearful of science or philosophy. They cannot harm the Truth, though they may help or compel to a better knowledge of the Truth.

Studies in Letters and Life. By GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY. 16mo, pp. 236. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These essays are reprinted from *The Nation* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. The subjects are Landor, Crabbe, The Promise of Keats, Aubrey de Vere on Poetry, The Pergamon Marbles, A Greek Trait Noticed by Dr. Waldstein, Mr. Pater on Ideal Æstheticism, Italian Renaissance Literature, Shelley's Career and Acquaintances and Italian Letters, Some Actors' Criticisms of Othello and Iago and Shylock, Sir George Beaumont, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Bunyan, Cowper, Channing, Darwin's Life, Byron's Centenary, Browning's Death. It hardly need be said that the volume is full of discriminating criticism, clear characterization, and charming interpretation. Writing of Landor's prose, the author says: "It is not, by present canons, perfect prose. It is not self-possessed, subdued, and graceful conversation, modulated, making its points without aggressive insistence, yet with certainty, keeping interest alive by a brilliant but natural turn and by the brief and luminous flash of truth through a perfect phrase. His prose is rather the monologue of a seer. In reading his works one feels somewhat as if sitting at the feet of Coleridge. Landor has the presence that abashes companions. His manner of speech is more dignified, more ceremonial, his enunciation is more resonant, his accent more exquisite, than belong to the man of the world. The style is a sort of modern Miltonic; it has the suggestion of the pulpit divine in Hooker, the touch of formal artificiality that characterizes the first good English prose. Landor goes far afield for his vocables; his page is a trifle too polysyllabic, has too much of the surface glitter of Latinity. But in the age that produced the styles of De Quincey, Ruskin, and Carlyle, it would be mere folly to find fault because Landor did not write, we will not say after the French fashion, but after the fashion of Swift, at his highest and on his

level, the unrivaled master of simple English prose. Landor, at his best, is not so picturesque as De Quincey, nor so eloquent as Ruskin, nor so intense as Carlyle; but he has more serenity, more self-possession, more artistic charm, a wider compass, a more equal harmony, than any of these." In the essay on Crabbe, after speaking of Crabbe's descriptions of village life and the condition of the English poor in his generation, the question is asked, "Where else would one turn for an adequate description of that life, or gain so direct an insight into the social sources and conditions of the Methodist revival, or into the motives and convictions of reformers like Mary Wollstonecraft?" And again: "Crabbe's pictures of the sects (from the pen of a respectable clergyman of the Established Church, it is true) recall the beginnings of Methodism with a vividness only to be equaled by the books and pamphlets of the early converts' own writing. . . . Too much is not to be expected from Crabbe. He was only a simple clergyman, half-educated, with no burning ideals, no reveries, no passionate dreams; his mind did not rise out of the capabilities and virtues of respectability. His life was as little poetical, in Wordsworth's sense, as his poetry. Yet his gift was not an empty one. Moore, Scott, and Byron were story-tellers who were poetical in Wordsworth's sense; but is Crabbe's true description of humble life less valuable than Scott's romantic tradition, or Moore's melting, sensuous oriental dream, or Byron's sentimental, falsely heroic adventure?" In illustration of Keats's self-indulgent delight in sensuous luxury the following, written by the poet to his brother George, is given: "This morning I am in a sort of temper, indolent, and supremely careless; I long after a stanza or two of Thomson's 'Castle of Indolence;' my passions are all asleep, from my having slumbered till near eleven, and weakened the animal fiber all over me to a delightful sensation about three degrees this side of faintness. If I had teeth of pearl and breath of lilies I should call it languor; but as I am I must call it laziness. In this state of effeminacy, the fibers of the brain are relaxed in common with the rest of the body, and to such a happy degree that pleasure has no show of enticement, and pain no unbearable frown; neither poetry, nor ambition, nor love has any alertness of countenance; as they pass by me they seem rather like three figures on a Greek vase, two men and a woman, whom no one but myself could distinguish in their disguisement." But Keats shows a different temper in paragraphs like these: "Difficulties nerve the spirit of a man;" "In the midst of the world I live like a hermit. I have forgot how to lay plans for the enjoyment of any pleasure. I feel I can bear anything—any misery, even imprisonment—so long as I have neither child nor wife;" "Scenery is fine, but human nature is finer; the sward is richer for the tread of a real nervous English foot; the eagle's nest is finer for the mountaineer having looked into it;" "The worst of men are those whose self-interests are their passions; the next worst, those whose passions are their self-interests." Keats said in his most solemn words, "I have loved the principle of beauty *in all*

things." And the author writes, "Dying, he said that proudly, as one who had kept the faith that was given him." In his wisest days Keats wrote: "I find I can have no enjoyment in the world but continual drinking of knowledge. I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good to the world. There is but one way for me. The road lies through application, study, and thought. I will pursue it." But Roman daisies were getting ready to bloom on his premature grave. This is written of Shelley in his last years: "If the earthly paradise that was the faith of his youth was now fading away, he was lifting his eyes to the city in the heavens, and had acknowledged the vanity of seeking the ideal he knew, except in the eternal; he had worked out his salvation." These are good words for Wordsworth to write near the end of life: "What manifold reason, my dear George, have you and I had to be thankful to Providence! Theologians may puzzle their heads about dogmas as they will; the religion of gratitude cannot mislead us. Of that are we sure; and gratitude is the handmaid to hope, and hope the harbinger of faith. I look abroad upon nature, I think of the best part of our species, I lean upon my friends, and I meditate upon the Scriptures, especially the gospel of St. John; and my creed rises up of itself, with the ease of an exhalation, yet a fabric of adamant. God bless you, my ever dear friend!" Concerning the foremost of modern naturalists is this: "Great as Darwin was as a thinker, and visionary as he remains as a man, those elements in which he was deficient are the noblest part of our nature." Browning "belongs with Jonson, with Dryden, with the heirs of the masculine intellect, the men of power not unvisited by grace, but in whom mind is predominant." The substance of Browning's creed was, "Believe in God and act like a man."

The Best of Browning. By Rev. JAMES MUDGE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.50.

Dr. Mudge dedicates his work to Bishop Vincent, "to whose suggestion this book owes its origin." The author says: "It has been prepared for those who are not only moved by 'concord of sweet sounds,' but are also deeply interested in the most serious side of life. It is an attempt —the first, so far as can be ascertained—to thoroughly introduce Robert Browning to the religious portion of the reading public. He has been correctly called 'the great Christian poet of the age,' and yet only a small proportion of even intelligent Christians are at all acquainted with his striking contributions to such topics as God, the soul, and the future life. Hitherto there has been no book which put before the ministry and laity of the Churches in convenient form that which is really *best* in Browning—his deliverances on the highest themes that can occupy the mind of men. . . . These constitute the main part of the weighty and inspiring message which he was charged to deliver to his generation. . . . We have aimed to furnish the most complete collection possible within moderate compass of all in Browning's poetry that a devout mind could take most pleasure in perusing. We have endeavored to include

his most vivid delineations of character, his most beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, and such passages as are most important from a literary point of view, but the moral and religious elements decidedly predominate." After the Introduction by the editor of the *Methodist Review* comes an explanatory chapter, ending with a list of some of the very best helps for the complete study of Browning; then twenty-three pages of most interesting biography, including, of course, something about Elizabeth Barrett Browning; then a most helpful chapter on "How to Read Browning," and another still better on "The Benefits of Browning Study;" then ten pages of brief felicities and fancies taken from Browning's works; then nearly twenty pages of extracts containing moral and religious thought; then a dozen pages of gems of description of nature, of character, and of other things. The last one hundred and forty pages contain complete poems, selected as most suitable for the purpose of the book and likely to be most interesting to those who may become its readers, beginning with Pippa's Songs and ending with "Easter Day." To a large proportion of these poems copious notes are appended, serving greatly to explain, interpret, and illuminate, so that all readers may the more easily comprehend. The book is intended chiefly for beginners in the study of Browning, and we hope it may introduce many to the intellectual Klondike which lies in his writings. To those who after reading Dr. Mudge's book wish to read some of Browning's short poems of a different kind and dealing with different subjects, we suggest the following: "Hervé Riel;" "The Flight of the Duchess;" the "Cavalier Tunes;" "Marching Along;" "Give a Rouse;" "Boot and Saddle;" "Evelyn Hope;" "Count Gismond;" "The Statue and the Bust;" "One Word More;" "Mr. Sludge, the Medium;" "Bishop Blougram's Apology;" "Echetlos;" "Clive;" "La Saisiaz." These may lead on and up to the study of Browning's longer poems, and whoever stops short of reading "The Ring and the Book," which is about as long as the New Testament, will miss the greatest of all poems since Shakespeare's masterpieces. With intense earnestness we urge every minister who is not familiar with Browning's works to study Dr. Mudge's book, confident that it will introduce him to some of the greatest intellectual and spiritual experiences of his life. Let every man who thinks it worth while to read the sermons of the greatest preachers, and who desires inspiration for his own preaching, study Browning, who is the mightiest unprofessional Christian preacher of the nineteenth century. With equal earnestness we commend this book to all thoughtful men and women, whatever their occupation or position, who care for the best literature or who feel any interest in the soul's life and problem, in the highest needs of the human heart, and in the fate and fortunes of mankind here and hereafter. We hold up Dr. Mudge's book, *The Best of Browning*, and say to publishers and preachers, "Broadcast it o'er the land!" Especially should it go into the hands of the best young people in our Epworth Leagues.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History of the Christian Church. By JOHN FLETCHER HURST. Volume I. 8vo, pp. 949. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $5.

For many years the announcement that Bishop Hurst would write a two-volume history of the Church has kept those who knew his ability as an historian alert for the fulfillment of the promise. That this first volume will increase the author's high reputation as a writer of history is evident. It begins with Pentecost and extends to the eve of the Reformation, and never once does the stately procession halt nor the interest tire. If anyone doubt the value of Church history he need but read this book to be forever persuaded that when properly presented it is not only more interesting than fiction, but that the mastery of it is in itself a liberal education. Bishop Hurst has a strong chapter on this subject; but better than his chapter, as a persuasive, is the book itself. Church history is a part of general history. The recognition of this fact, not alone theoretically, but also practically, makes Hurst's volume readable even to those who care nothing for the Church. This masterly presentation of the situation in the Græco-Roman world at the time of the introduction of Christianity, and his clear account of the Jewish parties in Palestine and in the Dispersion, as well as of the Samaritans, lend life and color to the whole story of the planting and training of the early Church, and cannot fail to be of interest to the general as also to the theological student. The work is outlined clearly, and the topics follow each other in well-ordered succession. Rich indeed is the table spread for the lover of history. Besides the treatment of themes which belong both to general and Church history we have a full revelation of the progress of ecclesiastical development. In this connection we can mention but a few of the topics, such as the distinction between the temporary officers of the Church—the apostles, prophets, and evangelists—and the permanent, or the bishops, presbyters, and deacons; the doctrinal development, which is quite full and discriminating; the elaborate discussion of the apocryphal literature, the Church fathers, early Christian schools, with an interesting and valuable discussion of the organization of the Church, in which, it is to be noted, he sanctions the conclusions of the lamented Hatch. Like some thoughtful and observant travelers, he leaves the beaten paths to lead us into enjoyments somewhat unusual, though perfectly legitimate, in histories of the Church. We have a delightful chapter on Dante, and another on the Sacred Drama. In this connection we are reminded to mention what may be called the gossipy character of this work, which is one of its chief charms. See, for example, the story concerning the Landgrave Frederick, the Joyful, when witnessing the *Tragedy of the Ten Virgins*. We have a most entertaining account of "traveling Christians," of the Jews as persecutors and persecuted, and of their early love for education, of the mediæval universities and the history of education, and of the employment of persecution, in connec-

tion with which we are told that the first persons put to death by Christians for heresy were Priscillian and six of his adherents, who, in 385 A. D., were condemned to death by the emperor Maximus at the instance of two bishops. Bishop Hurst has written in a tolerant spirit. He defends Boniface for subjecting the German monasteries to the papacy, Hildebrand for his many acts of aggression, and Abelard against the charge of rationalism. Among disputed points he accepts the idea of Paul's release from his first imprisonment, the genuineness of Hadrian's rescript concerning the Christians, the sincerity of Constantine, and collusion between Charles the Great and Leo III in the matter of the famous coronation of Christmas, 800 A. D., also that Peter was in Rome. On this last point we could have wished for a little fuller statement of the reasons upon which he bases his conclusions, as indeed also in the coronation of Charles the Great. Throughout the work the latest discoveries and the latest literature have been utilized. One of the peculiarities of the work is its judgments on the value of certain books cited or referred to. It is a hazardous proceeding, but no American is better qualified for such estimates than Bishop Hurst. The author has a happy way of avoiding staleness in chapter headings. One example is "The Mystics and Other Prophets of a Better Day." A feature of special value is the fullness with which the Church history of England, Scotland, and Ireland is treated. On the whole the book is remarkably free from errors, whether of fact or of typography. We notice that Hurst places the apostolic council at Jerusalem, as formerly, in the year 50. Harnack in his latest work, *The Chronology of Early Christian Literature*, fixes it 47 or perhaps 46. We note also that he does not as carefully discuss the origin of the Augustinian Order as the case seems to us to demand. We hardly know where to stop with so alluring a subject, and so excellent a treatment of it as we have here. But we break off with two brief points. Speaking of the results of Pentecost, Bishop Hurst says: "The law of revival was ordained and inaugurated. The slow processes by which the believer should arrive at a knowledge of the truth were done away. The change of heart could henceforth be a thing of a day or a moment. This is the present law for the conversion of the world, and he who would doubt the power of God to convert souls instantly and in great numbers, whether in Christian or heathen lands, practically ignores the lesson of Pentecost, when three thousand were converted, and 'daily' thereafter there were added others to the original number." All preachers who read those words should remember and ponder them. The second point is the summing of the gain and loss of the Middle Ages. Under the first we have the conversion of Europe, the civilization of Europe, the restoration of culture, and the consolidation of nationalities. Under the second he names as problems left unsolved the restoration of liberty, the restoration of love, the restoration of the Bible, and the restoration of Christ. Gain and loss! The gain of reading and mastering this stately volume and the loss of neglecting or skimming it. The modern

mind is historical; this book will aid in developing modern Christian scholars. We are hungry for the second volume; may it soon appear!

Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Edited by ANNIE FIELDS. Crown 8vo, pp. 406. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $2.

"The moment has at last arrived when the story of Mrs. Stowe's life can be given in full. The cause to which she surrendered herself is not forgotten; one by one the figures of those who bore a part in the great sacrifice begin to shine like bronze after the smelting, and stand, cut in imperishable forms, upon the tablets of memory. Therefore it is fitting that one who led the vanguard—one who was born, nevertheless, to carry no bayonet or gun, but to bear upon her heart the weight of a great love for suffering men—should now herself be known." So says the Preface. The volume which follows is as interesting as was that remarkable family, the Beechers, large glimpses of whom are given in this life of Mrs. Stowe. That country parsonage at Litchfield, among the Berkshire hills, held a rare brood of children. Harriet, looking back from later years, described the meeting house which was the center of the village life: "To my childish eyes our old meeting house was an awe-inspiring thing. To me it seemed fashioned very nearly on the model of Noah's ark and Solomon's temple, as set forth in the pictures in my Scripture Catechism. . . . Its double row of windows, its doors, with great wooden quirls over them; its belfry, projecting out at the east end; its steeple and bell—all inspired as much sense of the sublime in me as Strasbourg Cathedral itself. . . . But the glory in the execution of those good old billowy compositions called fuguing tunes, where the four parts that compose the choir take up the song, and go racing around one after another, each singing a different set of words, till at length, by some inexplicable magic, they all come together again and sail smoothly out into a rolling sea of harmony! I remember the wonder with which I used to look from side to side when treble, tenor, counter, and bass were thus roaring and foaming, and it verily seemed to me as if the psalm were going to pieces among the breakers, and the delighted astonishment with which I found that each particular verse did emerge whole and uninjured from the storm." When the mother died—the gentle, contented, smiling, healthful mother—the smaller children were too young to understand. They were told at one time that she had been laid in the ground and at another that she was in heaven. Little Henry Ward Beecher, putting the two statements together, resolved to find her by digging through the ground to heaven. One morning his oldest sister, Catharine, saw him under her window, digging away with great earnestness. She called to him to know what he was doing, and, lifting his curly head, with a child's simplicity he answered, "Why, I'm going to heaven to find ma." One of the characters who strongly impressed little Harriet Beecher was her aunt, Harriet Foote, who was so much an Episcopalian that she once said that "many persons out of the Episcopal Church would be saved at last, but that

they were resting entirely on *uncovenanted mercy*." Concerning her own mother Mrs. Stowe wrote: "It will be the testimony of all her sons that her image stood between them and the temptations of youth as a sacred shield; that the hope of meeting her in heaven has sometimes been the last strand which did not part in hours of temptation; and that the remembrance of her holy life and death was a solemn witness of the truth of religion, which repelled every assault of skepticism, and drew back the soul from every wandering to the faith in which she lived and died." Mrs. Stowe remembered her father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, in his old age, exclaiming, "I am sick because I cannot reveal the feelings of my heart;" and again, another day, he took up his rusty old fiddle, thrummed its strings, played a few notes, and then said, dissatisfied, "If I could only play what I hear inside of me I'd beat Paganini." When twelve years old precocious little Harriet Beecher wrote a composition on the subject, "Can the Immortality of the Soul be Proved by the Light of Nature?" It closed thus: "Never till the blessed light of the Gospel dawned on the borders of the pit, and the heralds of the cross proclaimed 'Peace on earth and good will to men,' was bewildered and misled man enabled to trace his celestial origin and glorious destiny." One day Lyman Beecher said to his wife, "My dear, Byron is dead," and, after a meditative silence, he added, "O, I'm sorry Byron is dead. I did hope he would live to do something for Christ. What a harp he might have swept!" The next Sunday he preached about Byron from the text, "The name of the just is as brightness, but the name of the wicked shall rot;" the main idea set forth being that only goodness is immortal, and that no degree of brilliancy and genius can redeem vice from perishing. When Harriet was fourteen years old, after hearing her father preach one morning about Jesus as the soul's friend, she went up to his study and threw herself into his lap, saying, "Father, I have given myself to Jesus." Looking down sweetly and tenderly into his child's face, the man of God said, while he pressed her to his heart and his hot tears fell on her head, "Is it so? Then has a new flower blossomed in the kingdom this day." Her elder sister, Catharine, had her doubts about the genuineness and stability of Harriet's profession; she was afraid there might be something wrong in the case of a lamb that had come so easily into the fold without being first chased all over the lot by the Shepherd, great stress being laid in those days on what was called "being under conviction." And the pastor of the First Church at Hartford, where the child was at school, tested her with such solemn and preposterous hypothetical questions as this: "Harriet, do you feel that if the universe should be destroyed [awful pause] you could be happy with God alone?" After such stern searchings she went through glooms and groanings, during which she was so utterly disheartened as to think she would better die than live to disgrace herself and be a trouble to the world. Catharine seems to have thought such experiences good for Harriet, and wrote: "Let her 'take courage in her dark sorrows and melancholies,' as Carlyle says; Samuel

Johnson, too, had hypochondrias; 'all great souls are apt to have, and to be in thick darkness generally till the eternal ways and the celestial guiding stars disclose themselves, and the vague abyss of life knits itself up into firmaments for them.'" When a distinguished New England theologian spoke to a German professor about one of Catharine Beecher's publications, saying, "The ablest refutation of Edwards on 'The Will' which has been written is the work of a woman, the daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher," the worthy Teuton raised both hands in astonishment, and answered, "You have a woman that can write an able refutation of Edwards on 'The Will?' God forgive Christopher Columbus for discovering America!" After four years of struggle and suffering, due mostly to maltreatment, Harriet somehow got back to the simple, sincere trustfulness and consequent peace which she had at first and ought to have been permitted to keep instead of being put under suspicion and thrown into darkness and despair by incomprehensible questions. She says that somebody advised her to give up the pernicious habit of introspection to the first Methodist minister that would take it. But it was not by Methodists that she had been tormented, and it has never been Methodism's way to torture young souls by probing them with impractical, metaphysical, theological, or hypothetical tests, or to regard them as natural children of the devil. Nowhere outside of Methodism has religion been made so sunny and winsome to little children and youth; nowhere else has the eager, certain, and impartial welcome of Christ to every soul the instant it consents been so positively and lovingly proclaimed. In Methodism's gospel there has been no darkness at all, except for the disobedient and rebellious. Of life in New York, on her first visit there, Harriet Beecher wrote: "It is a sort of agreeable delusion, but it is too *scattering*. I begin to be athirst for the waters of quietness." Of one friend she writes: "It was associating with her that first gave me the idea of saying something to people who were not agreeable, and of saying something when I had nothing to say, as is generally the case." In a letter written to Mrs. Stowe on the publication of *The Minister's Wooing* James Russell Lowell said: "Whatever creed may be true, it is *not* true that man can be saved by machinery. I can speak with some chance of being right, for I confess a strong sympathy with many parts of Calvinistic theology, and . . . for one thing, I believe in hell with all my might, and in the goodness of God, for all that." To a woman suddenly crushed by a great bereavement Mrs. Stowe wrote: "Be not afraid and confounded if you find no apparent religious support at first. When the heartstrings are all suddenly cut, it is, I believe, a physical impossibility to feel faith or resignation; there is a revolt of the instinctive and animal system, and though we may submit to God it is rather by a constant painful effort than by a sweet attraction. There are cases when a superhuman grace is given and the soul is buoyed above itself, but more often we can only bleed in silent pain. For such deep places there is nothing but the remembrance of Him who, though a son, yet learned obedience

by the things which he suffered. We see that it cost him agony and bloody sweat to say, 'Not my will but thine.' It did not come easily, even to him, and he said it over and over in his anguish as we must. We know whose hand holds ours and that he makes no mistakes. These sorrows are our weanings from earth, and we fill the long night with tossings and moanings. Our Father, loving us better than we love ourselves, will educate us for our inheritance. It is no small thing, this eternal glory, and we must suffer something for it." Spending her winters in Florida, Mrs. Stowe desired to plant churches along the St. John's River, and thought it best that they should be Episcopal Churches, giving as a reason that their system was "the best for training immature minds such as those of our negroes." And she added that the Protestant Episcopal "system was composed with reference to the laboring class of England, at a time when they were as ignorant as our negroes now are." She speaks of modern skepticism as the "worst of all unbelief, the denial of all good, all beauty, all generosity, all heroism." Of *Oldtown Folks* she says: "It is more to me than a story; it is my *résumé* of the whole body and spirit of New England." Telling Mr. Fields that she cannot promise to have a story done by a fixed date, she says: "Sermons, essays, lives of distinguished people, I can write to order at times and seasons. But a story comes, grows like a flower, sometimes will and sometimes won't, like a pretty woman. When the spirits help I can write. When they jeer, flout, make faces, and otherwise maltreat me, I can only wait humbly at their gates and watch at the posts of their doors." When she was pelted with denunciations for her paper in the *Atlantic Monthly* in defense of Lady Byron she wrote: "It is worth while to have a *storm* of abuse once in a while, for *one* reason to read the Psalms; they are a radiant field of glory that never shines unless the night shuts in. Sometimes I have such nearness to the Blessed that a voice whispers, 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder;' 'The eternal God is thy refuge.' Depend upon it, the Lord didn't pitch me into this seething caldron for nothing, and the Son of man walks with me in the fire." From Florida she wrote: "I never knew such perfect weather. It is enough to make a saint out of the toughest old Calvinist that ever set his face as a flint. What would have been the theology of our fathers if they had landed here instead of on Plymouth Rock?" A few more quotations must have space on these pages: "I met at Dayton a woman who now has grandchildren, but who, when I first came west, was a gay, rattling girl. She was one of the first converts of my brother George's seemingly obscure ministry in the little new town of Chillicothe. Now she has one son who is a judge of the supreme court, and another in prosperous business. Both she and they are Christians of the primitive sort, whose religion is their all; who glory in tribulation, knowing that it worketh patience. She told me, with a bright, sweet calm, of her husband killed in battle the first year of the war, of her only daughter and two grandchildren dying in the faith, and of her own happy waiting on God's will,

in hope of a joyful reunion. Her sons are leading members of the Presbyterian Church, and active in stirring up others to make the Christian profession a reality. When I thought that all this came from the conversion of one giddy girl, when George seemed to be doing so little, I said, 'Who can measure the work of a faithful minister?'" "Amid the vast ruins of man's desolation we can yet live a bird's life of unconscious joy; or, as Luther beautifully phrased it, 'We can be like a bird that sits singing on his twig and lets God think for him.'" "It is more and better to be really a woman worth loving than to have read Greek and German and written books." So thought the heroic woman who, having written many books, some of them famous and one at least immortal, lay down to rest in July, 1896, at the age of eighty-five, beside her husband and her children in the burial ground at Andover.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Treasury of American Verse. Edited by WALTER LEARNED, Editor of *A Treasury of Favorite Poems*, etc. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

To describe this book in detail would necessitate the description of a great number of poems which make up its pages. Altogether one hundred and fourteen writers contribute to the total, sweeping the wide range of subjects which engage the poet's fancy and in versification which is most winsome. The compiler writes that his book "can claim to be no more than a collection of those poems which every one knows, and a few more which the editor hopes that some would like to know and keep." We could wish that the latter hope might have its realization. For every mood there is in this *Treasury* an appropriate and dainty sentiment.

The Preparation for Christianity in the Ancient World. A Study in the History of Moral Development. By R. M. WENLEY, Sc.D., D.PHIL., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan, sometime Honorary President of the Glasgow University Theological Society. 12mo, pp. 194. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Dr. Wenley writes upon an important subject, and with an able hand. Some of his chapters are entitled: "Socrates as a Missionary of the Human Spirit;" "Greek Self-Criticism;" "Salvation by Wisdom;" "The Mission of the Jews;" "The Advent of the Saviour;" "The Preparation of the World;" "The Preparation of the Spirit." In a vigorous figure he concludes: "The flood of preparation for Christianity flows steadily down the ages in three main streams—the Greek, ever bearing on its sparkling surface the one burden, the humane character of man; the Jewish, gradually becoming clearer, till it mirrors the nature of the one true God, then, losing itself amid the rocks of formalism, anon bursting its home banks and overflowing with fertilizing influence into many far-off lands; the Roman, swamping a world in its majestic current, then exhausting itself in the endless eddies caused by the junction of innumerable tributaries."

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WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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